

283083

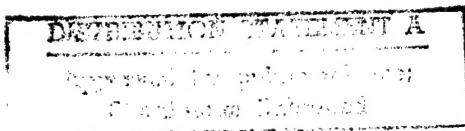
JPRS-TAC-85-016

5 July 1985

Worldwide Report

ARMS CONTROL

19980813
069



DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

10
254
A12

mats see in it a parallel to the efforts of Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to consolidate the Bonn-Paris relationship in the first place.

Government Spokesman Comments

LD291506 Hamburg DPA in German 1359 GMT 29 May 85

[Excerpts] Bonn, 29 May (DPA) --- The Federal Government is keeping its position open equally on a European technology community, Eureka, and the U.S. research project for a missile defense in space. One day after the meeting between Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand in Konstanz on Lake Konstanz, government spokesman Juergen Sudhoff told the press in Bonn on Wednesday that the Federal Government is checking on both projects. Therefore, there was just as little chance of a final declaration as of a statement on the financial resources.

Sudhoff emphatically denied press reports of prominent differences of opinion in Konstanz between Kohl and Mitterrand on the problems of the SDI. "The SDI was a peripheral topic yesterday," he stated. The talks had focused on the preparation of the meeting of the European Council in Milan on 28 June.

Sudhoff also contradicted French press commentaries that the FRG-French axis had not been repaired in Konstanz but "warped" and had now to be regarded as "broken." The course of the meeting had shown clearly that there is "nothing in such talk." The din of battle at the Bonn economic summit, where Mitterrand gave his rejection to the SDI project, has abated. The results of Konstanz are helpful for the Milan summit with regard to the development of a joint policy in Europe.

In connection with Eureka, Kohl stated in the talk with Mitterrand, according to Sudhoff, that he regards the buildup of European technology as a vital necessity. The specialist ministers are now to discuss individual projects. In this respect, it must be remembered that financial resources are not unlimited.

According to Sudhoff, Kohl presented the position on SDI which he had stated in several speeches and government statements. "No change in the Bonn position has come about." The chancellor stressed that Bonn seeks a joint European attitude. The Bonn decision remains open. Before a final decision, in which the conditions mentioned by the Federal Government will be taken into consideration, the talks of a commission of experts, which will travel to Washington soon, will have to be awaited. France will be informed of the result of this visit.

On the letter from former Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (SPD) to Kohl, which has now been made known and in which concern is expressed about the FRG-French development and participation in SDI is discouraged, Sudhoff stated that the letter will be studied carefully and answered. In some points it overlaps with views of the Federal Government. Other parts have been remedied by Kohl's meeting with Mitterrand in Konstanz.

According to Sudhoff, the chancellor expressed the hope at the Kohl-Mitterrand meeting that a considerable step towards European union can be made at the Milan summit. This applies in particular to a return to the principle of majority decisions and to intensified cooperation in foreign and security affairs.

Before the council meeting in Milan, Kohl will conduct similar talks with Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission.

Further Remarks

LD291801 Hamburg DPA in German 1720 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] [No dateline received] Government spokesman Juergen Sudhoff said this evening that the Federal Government is willing to take part in the Eureka program. Only a decision on the SDI project is still open. In response to questions at his press conference, Sudhoff stressed that the Federal Government is examining both projects. Explaining this later, he said in the case of Eureka there is now only the question of what can be done within the framework of joint technological projects.

CSO: 5200/2653

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

5 July 1985

**WORLDWIDE REPORT
ARMS CONTROL**

GENERAL

USSR: Velikhov, Kokoshin Examine U.S. Nuclear Concepts (Ye. Velikhov, A. Kokoshin; Moscow MOROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 4, Apr 85).....	1
USSR: Comment on NATO May Military Brussels Sessions (Various sources, various dates).....	15
Armaments Plans Listed, by Boris Parkhomenko	15
Weinberger Lobbies for SDI	16
Focus on Conventional Arms, by Albert Balebanov	17
U.S. Unsure of Allied SDI Stance	17
Communique Ignores SDI	18
European SDI Fears Expressed, by Vladimir Bogachev	19
Weinberger 'Fails To Set Tone,' by Yevgeniy Kachanov	20
Reaction to Rogers Plan, by Vikentiy Matveyev	21
Military Paper Commentary, by V. Kuzar	23
Conventional Arms Disarmament Symposium Held in Mexico City (Mexico City NOTIMEX, various dates).....	27
Mexican President Opens Meeting	27
Nicaraguan Cites U.S. Pressures	28
Soviet Opposes Weapons Sales	29
Statements by Danes	29
Egyptian Delegate's Address	30
Role of Transnationals Raised	31
Mexican Appeal for Respect	31
Various Participants' Remarks Reviewed	31
Ecuadorean Comments	32
Cuban, Mexican Agreement	33

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

Gorbachev Discusses Arms Issues During Czech Leader's Visit (Moscow TASS; various dates).....	35
Gorbachev, Husak Discuss Issues	35
Gorbachev: Moratorium 'First Step'	36
Husak: 'Fully Support' USSR, by G. Husak	38
PRAVDA Editorial	39
Gromyko Discusses SDI, Geneva Talks With Shultz in Vienna (Various sources, various dates).....	41
TASS Reports Meeting	41
Soviet Spokesman Speaks to Press, by Vladimir Lomeyko	42
Press Briefing in Moscow	42
Spokesman's Comments on Meeting	43
PRAVDA Review 19 May, by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov	44
Gromyko Discusses Space Arms Race During May Vienna Trip (Moscow TASS, 15, 16 May 85).....	45
Speaks at Treaty Ceremony	45
Meets French Foreign Minister	45
Meets FRG Foreign Minister	46
Meets Austrian Foreign Minister	46
USSR: Second Round of Talks Opens 30 May (Moscow TASS, 29, 30 May 85; Paris AFP, 30 May 85).....	47
Second Round Opens 30 May	47
Karpov Arrival Statement	47
Karpov Statement Before Talks	48
U.S. 'Constructiveness' Urged, by Vladimir Chernyshev	48
U.S. Stand Questioned, by Anatoliy Krasikov	49
Burt Speech Viewed, by Vladimir Bogachev	50
USSR's Vorotnikov, Visiting Canada, Comments on Arms Control (Various sources, various dates).....	52
Makes Arrival Statement	52
Meets With Mulroney	52
Clark, Vorotnikov Dinner Speeches	53
Issues Departure Statement	54
Soviet Reportage on Italian Prime Minister's Visit (Various sources, various dates).....	55
Importance of Arms Issues, by N. Paklin	55
Talks With Gorbachev	57
Craxi 'Satisfied' With Talks	58
Gorbachev Speaks at Dinner	58
Craxi Speaks at Dinner	62

USSR: World War II Lessons Relevant to Success of Talks (Lev Tolkunov; Moscow NEW TIMES, No 19, May 85).....	65
TASS Reports on Group Sessions 31 May-6 June (Moscow TASS, various dates).....	74
Strategic Arms Group 31 May	74
Space Arms Group 4 June	74
Strategic Arms Group 5 June	74
INF Session 6 June	74
FRG's Brandt Discusses Arms Issues With Soviet Leaders in Moscow (Various sources, various dates).....	75
Pessimistic on Geneva Talks	75
Meets With Gorbachev	76
Leaders Attend Luncheon	77
Gorbachev Speech, by Mikhail Gorbachev	77
Brandt Speech, by W. Brandt	80
Discussions To Continue	82
TASS Reports Press Conference	83
PRAVDA Reports Press Conference	83
DPA Reports Press Conference	84
Bahr Meets Akhromeyev	86
Brandt Interviewed on Visit	86
FRG Press Roundup	87
FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE Comments	88
SPACE ARMS	
USSR: U.S. Wrong in Claiming SDI, ABM Treaty Compatible (Various sources, various dates).....	89
Perle Remarks Hit, by Viktor Olin	89
'Harmless Research' Denied, by Aleksey Popov	90
Nitze Remarks Hit, by Vladimir Bogachev	91
Nitze, Nobel Laureates Contrasted, by Yuriy Kornilov	93
Further on Nitze Remarks	94
Contradiction Seen, by Georgiy Zubkov	95
State Department's Comments Hit, by Vladimir Chernyshev	96
USSR: More on U.S. Campaign for European SDI Support (Viktor Olin; Moscow World Service, 6 May 85; Leonid Ponomarev; Moscow TASS, 10 Jun 85).....	98
'Swarm' of Conference Organizers	98
To Breach ABM Treaty	99
U.S. Space Arms Plan Described, Similar Soviet Plans Denied (M. Ponomarev; Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 7 Apr 85).....	101

USSR:	Further on Weinberger Appeals for Allied SDI Backing (Moscow TASS, 20, 24 May 85; Moscow Domestic Service, 25 May 85).....	105
	Remarks Called 'Ultimatums' 'Dispirited' by Response, by Vladimir Bogachev	105 106
	Appeals to Private Firms, by Vladimir Pasko	107
USSR:	May Commentaries on Allied Responses to SDI (Various sources, various dates).....	108
	Allies To Gain Little, by Vladimir Chernyshev	108
	Europe Skeptical on Shared Technology, by Vasiliy Kharkov	109
	Growing Opposition Seen, by Aleksandr Zholkver	110
	Carrington Expresses Doubts, by Stanislav Bychkov	112
	Remains SDI 'Zealous Advocate', by Vasiliy Kharkov	112
	FRG, Japanese Involvement, by Yuriy Kharlanov	113
	FRG Ambivalence Stressed, by Aleksey Grigoryev	114
	FRG Defense Minister Favorable, by Leonid Ponomarev	115
	FRG Politician Urges Renouncement, by Sergey Sosnovskiy	116
	Thatcher Statement Criticized, by Vladimir Chernyshev	117
	French Government's Stand Questioned, by Boris Tumanov	118
	U.S.-French Differences Highlighted, by Farid Seyful- Mulyukov	119
	Belgian 'Alarm' Reported, by V. Drobkov	120
	Carrington Appeal to Dutch, by Valeriy Kostylev	121
	Negative Turkish Commentary Noted, by A. Filippov	121
	Arabic Broadcast on Israeli Participation	122
USSR:	May Commentaries Assailing SDI (Various sources, various dates).....	123
	'Dramatically' Increases War Danger	123
	Congressman's Critical Letter Noted	124
	Weinberger 'Fantasy' of Defense, by Vladimir Chernyshev	124
	Quest for Superiority Seen, by Vitaliy Korionov	126
USSR:	France Pushes Eureka Project as Alternative to SDI (V. Gusekov; Moscow NEW TIMES, No 23, Jun 85).....	129
Soviet	Press Reports on SDI Technical Developments (Moscow TASS, various dates; Moscow PRAVDA, 25 May 85) ..	133
	'Clever Shells' Being Developed	133
	Space Laser Advances	133
	Second Generation Space Shuttle, by Aleksey Popov	134
	June Shuttle Laser Experiment, by Aleksey Popov	134
	Laser, Shuttle Tests Scheduled	135
	Senate Approves More ASAT Tests	136

TASS Reports Pugwash Statement Criticizing SDI (Yevgeniy Korzhev; Moscow TASS, 28 May 85).....	137
Moscow TV Talk Show Discusses 'Star Wars' (Moscow Television Service, 25 May 85).....	139
'Studio 9' Program	139
Space Militarization Plans	139
Goals of Program	140
Scientific Developments	141
Soviet Position, Response	142
Scientific Criticism of Plans	143
Threat to World Peace	144
'Deception Campaign'	145
ABM Treaty Violation	146
USSR's Response	146
Cost to USSR, U.S.	148
U.S. Allies' Attitude	149
Implications of 'Star Wars'	150
USSR Journal Answers UK Reader on 'Overdramatizing' Space Issue (Moscow NEW TIMES, No 19, May 85).....	152
NATO Stuttgart Meeting Fails To Agree on SDI Participation (Yuriy Reshetnikov; Moscow World Service, 20 May 85)....	154
NATO Foreign Ministers' Final Communique (Paris AFP, 7 Jun 85).....	156
North Atlantic Assembly Discussed SDI, Geneva Talks (Hamburg DPA, 18, 20 May 85).....	157
Reservations Voiced	157
Kohl Speech	157
FRG Ambassador to U.S.: SDI Endangers SALT II Treaty (Hamburg DER SPIEGEL, 3 Jun 85).....	159
Kohl Says Eureka 'Not Alternative' to SDI (Hamburg DPA, 7 Jun 85).....	160
West German FDP To Withhold Commitment on SDI (Hamburg DPA, 1 Jun 85).....	161
FRG Foreign Minister Affirms Support for Detente (Hamburg DPA, 17 May 85).....	162
FRG Defense Minister, Greens Differ in Bundestag SDI Debate (Hamburg DPA, 23 May 85).....	163

FRG Editorial on Participation in Eureka, SDI (Editorial, Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode; Bonn DIE WELT, 31 May 85).....	164
FRG Daily Criticizes Genscher's Arms Control Policy (Herbert Kremp; Bonn DIE WELT, 3 Jun 85).....	166
FRG Press Reviews Kohl Meeting With Mitterrand (Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network, 29 May 85).....	168
FRG, French Response to 'Star Wars' Reported (Hamburg DPA, 29 May 85).....	170
FRG, French Ministers To Meet	170
Schmidt Opposes Participation	170
Government Spokesman Comments	171
Further Remarks	172
FRG Foreign Minister Backs Technical Cooperation With France (Hamburg DPA, 26 May 85).....	173
FRG's Genscher 'Encouraged' by Talks With Mitterrand (Hamburg DPA, 23 May 85).....	174
FRG, Spanish Foreign Ministers Discuss SDI, Eureka (Hamburg DPA, 28 May 85; Madrid Domestic Service, 28 May 85).....	176
Genscher, Moran Discuss Spain's Role	176
Moran on Eureka	176
European Security Policy Conference Condemns SDI (Hamburg DPA, 30 May 85).....	178
Kohl Adviser Views Possible Benefits, Risks of SDI (Horst Teltschik Interview; Vienna Television Service, 22 May 85).....	179
Kohl, Mitterrand Discuss 'Star Wars,' Eureka (Various sources, various dates).....	181
Kohl, Mitterrand Conversations	181
'Evident Divergence' of Views	181
'Very Good Atmosphere'	182
European Socialists Criticize U.S. SDI Program (Paris LE MONDE, 30 May 85).....	183
France's Hernu Sets Up Space Defense Study Group (Jacques Isnard; Paris LE MONDE, 5 Jun 85).....	184

FRG Foreign Minister Proposed 'Coordinated Response' on SDI (Paris AFP, 22 May 85).....	186
France's Dumas Says Eureka May Strengthen Defense Capabilities (Paris AFP, 11 Jun 85).....	188
French Research Minister on Eureka (Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, 5 Jun 85; Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 12 Jun 85).....	189
Defends Ambitious Projects, Hubert Curien Interview Emphasizes 'Civilian' Uses, Hubert Curien Interview	189
	190
French Press Views Challenge Set By SDI Program (Editorial, Jean Francois-Poncet; Paris LE FIGARO, 6 Jun 85).....	192
Italy's Andreotti Says Time Not Ripe for Allies SDI Stance (Rome ANSA, 7 Jun 85).....	194
Western European Union Unit Votes To Postpone SDI Debate (Rome ANSA, 21 May 85).....	195
Spain Studying SDI, Eureka Projects (Madrid ABC, 31 May 85).....	196
Spain Supports Eureka Project (Madrid Domestic Service, 7 Jun 85).....	197
Portugal's Gama, Lopez Discuss Eureka, 'Star Wars' (Luis Delgado; Lisbon DAIRIO DE NOTICIAS, 28 May 85)....	198
West German SPD Leader Compared Eureka, 'Star Wars' (Tokyo KYODO, 31 May 85).....	200
Briefs	
Turkey Supports 'Star Wars'	201
SALT/START ISSUES	
Soviet Media Views U.S. Trident Sub Launchings, SALT II Limits (Various sources, various dates).....	202
Seventh Sub Will Violate Accord, by Vitaliy Gan	202
Exceeds SALT II Limits, by Aleksandr Zholkver	203
Impact on Geneva Talks, by Valeriy Korzon	204
Violation Imminent, by Vladimir Chernyshev	204
Zholkver Comments, by Aleksandr Zholkver	206
'Heated Debate' Seen, by Vladimir Bogachev	206
New Tridents, Violations Charges, by Valentin Zorin	207
Programs Incompatible With Treaty, by Vladislav Kozyakov	208
Warnke, Others Urge Compliance, by Aleksandr Lyutyy	209

Soviet Colonel Hits Perle Claims of USSR Arms Accord Breaches (I. Voinov; Moscow KRAYNAYA ZVEZDA, 21 May 85).....	211
Moscow Accuses U.S. of Attacking SALT II, ABM Treaties (Moscow World Service, 10 May 85).....	213
USSR: June NATO Meeting on SDI, Dropping SALT II (Various sources, various dates).....	215
Shultz To Sound Out Allies	215
To 'Twist Arms' on SDI, by Vladimir Tsvetov	215
Allies Disagree Over SDI	216
West European Reaction Negative, by Vladimir Tsvetov	217
Spain Wants SALT II Observance	218
NATO Ministers Oppose SDI, by Anatoliy Gan	218
Reagan To Announce SALT II Decision, by Viktor Levin	219
PRAVDA Editorial Article on Future of SALT II (Moscow PRAVDA, 10 Jun 85).....	220
Report on NATO Foreign Ministers' Meeting (Paris AFP, 6 Jun 85; Hamburg ARD, 6 Jun 85).....	223
U.S. Asked To Honor SALT Treaties	223
Genscher Comments	224
SFRY Commentator Views Reagan's Decision on SALT II (Milika Sundic; Zagreb Domestic Service, 11 Jun 85)....	225
Czechoslovakia: U.S. SALT II Decision, Reaction Viewed (Bratislava Domestic Service, 11 Jun 85).....	227
INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES	
USSR: NATO May Evere Decision on Euromissiles Deplored (A. Mozgovoy; Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 26 May 85)....	228
Moscow Scoffs at Temporary Halt in Pershing-II Deployments (Viktor Olin; Moscow World Service, 26 Apr 85).....	230
European Opponents of Cruise Missile Deployment Meet (Wio Joustra; Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT, 3 Jun 85).....	231
FRG Magazine Reports Pershing II Manual Found in Trash Can (Hamburg DPA, 22 May 85).....	232

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE

Soviet Reports on Opening of Session in May (Various sources, various dates).....	233
Bloc Intentions Praised	233
Socialist Countries Submit Proposals	233
NATO Members' Response Hit, by Aleksandr Pogodin	234
IZVESTIYA Analyzes Bloc Proposals, by A. Sychev	235
Soviet Envoy on U.S. Chemical Arms	237
Czechoslovakia: Comment on Bloc Initiative (Bratislava PRAVDA, 22 May 85).....	238

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

Soviet Reports on May MBFR Session (Moscow TASS, various dates; Moscow Domestic Service, 23 May 85).....	239
Soviet Delegation Arrives 22 May	239
U.S. 'Obstructionist' Path	239
GDR, UK Envoys Speak, by Anatoliy Tyupayev	240
Hungary Delegate Speaks	241
Czechoslovakia: Report on Opening of 36th Round (Prague RUDE PRAVO, 24 May 85),.....	242

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

U.S. Said To Want Poison Gas in NATO Arsenal (Ulrich Machensen; Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 24 May 85).....	243
---	-----

GENERAL

USSR: VELIKHOV, KOKOSHIN EXAMINE U.S. NUCLEAR CONCEPTS

MOSCOW MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 4,
Apr 85 (signed to press 18 March 85) pp 33-43

[Article by Ye. Velikhov and A. Kokoshin: "Nuclear Weapons and the Dilemmas of International Security"]

I

[Text] Mankind today is experiencing what is perhaps its greatest ordeal in history. Despite the struggle to halt the nuclear arms race, which has been waged for several decades by the USSR and its allies, and also by all peace-loving forces, and despite a certain success in this sphere, the unremitting aspiration of the most aggressive imperialist circles to military superiority and super profits from military production has led to serious exacerbation of the international situation and a threat to the existence of human civilization and even to life itself on this planet.

"...Mankind," noted K.U. Chernenko, "is living a crucial moment in its history. The future of human civilization depends on whether the most major tasks facing the world today are resolved--primarily those of eliminating the nuclear threat, preventing the militarization of outer space and using it exclusively for peaceful purposes, and uniting the efforts of the peoples in order to resolve global economic and ecological problems."¹

Very important conclusions have been reached in recent years by Soviet, American and West European doctors and scientists, who have revealed a whole range of new, possible medical-biological, genetic, and climatic consequences of a nuclear war which are a vital addition to our ideas on this phenomenon.

The specific features of the strategic situation now arising are determined to a considerable extent by the fact that it is not simply a build up of nuclear arsenals by the sides that are in question, but also the appearance of types and forms of weapons which in the period up to the year 2000 could radically alter ideas on strategic stability and on the very possibility of effectively limiting and reducing nuclear weapons. In this respect increasing alarm is being caused by the programs implemented by the U.S. military-industrial complex which are aimed at significantly increasing the proportion of nuclear warheads with enhanced precision guidance in the armed forces, which the Soviet Union is fully justified in regarding as first-strike weapons.

French and British nuclear forces are also developing in the direction of substantially increasing the quantity of ammunition and enhancing its precision and strike power. If the programs announced by the state leadership of these countries for increasing strategic weapons are realized, by the end of the nineties their nuclear forces will fundamentally differ from everything they have had until now.

The contemporary strategic balance is a form of expression of the correlation of the qualitative and quantitative condition of the sides' forces and of the factors determining the strategic situation. Their aggregate can be represented as a complex, dynamic macrosystem, the main elements of which are nuclear, primarily strategic, offensive weapons. However, the state of the macrosystem depends not only on nuclear weapons, but also on many other of its components. There exists a close dialectical connection both between the sides' offensive weapons taken individually and between offensive and defensive weapons--both between the opposing sides and within the armed forces of each of them.

The dialectics of development of the strategic balance is such that the appearance (even the testing, let alone the deployment) of new "defensive" weapons with pretensions to effectiveness could cause no less (and possibly even greater) "upset" in the balance than the creation of new, even offensive weapons.

At the end of the sixties--beginning of the seventies, when the USSR and the United States began discussing the problem of strategic weapons, they jointly admitted that there is an indissoluble mutual connection between strategic offensive and defensive weapons. It is no accident that in 1972 the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, of unlimited duration, and the first Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement (SALT I) were concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States at the same time--we stress, at the same time.²

In order to maintain the military balance and preserve strategic parity with the United States at the aforementioned level, the Soviet Union is compelled to take adequate measures of both military and political-psychological significance. In particular, a complex of steps aimed at preventing a break in the military balance has been taken by the USSR in conjunction with its Warsaw Pact allies in response to the beginning of the deployment of Pershing II ballistic missiles and long-range cruise missiles in Western Europe. As a result, the nuclear balance has been restored, although--and this is not our fault, of course--at a higher level. Thus, in recent years the number of the sides' nuclear warheads aimed at one another's objectives has increased still further. There has been a sharp reduction in the time in which to make a responsible decision in connection with a nuclear attack or a nuclear situation arising accidentally. Trust between states has been undermined.

In this connection one can, perhaps, speak of the effect in the sphere of the strategic balance of the law of "diminishing returns," when more and more investments of resources in offensive weapons (having in mind the vast stocks of these weapons already accumulated, and also the measures,

in response available to the other side) yield less and less effect from the point of view of really significantly altering the correlation of forces, and not simply from that of increasing arsenals for destroying every living thing on earth many times over.³

Evaluating the scale of the buildup in nuclear weapons, A.A. Gromyko noted in his speech at the 39th UN General Assembly Session that "the world has crossed the point beyond which the further accumulation and perfection of these weapons is not only dangerous, but senseless."

The problem of the limitless accumulation of nuclear weapons also has another side, because the existence of weapons stockpiles in itself, as N.A. Tikhonov has noted, causes totally justified alarm and increased nervousness and the threat of a nuclear war breaking out, including on account of technical error or human error, the danger of which increases with the number of weapons.⁴

Many scientists, members of the military, and state and political figures in the West admit that for 12-15 years now the correlation of the sides' nuclear arsenals has been such that neither of them could win a nuclear war, even having begun it first. This strategic situation, as presented by American military theoreticians, is called "mutual assured destruction." Various Western figures sometimes say that it is precisely the state of a "balance of fear" and its realization and acceptance by both sides that is the main guarantor of peace and the main factor which has prevented the outbreak of a new world war until now.

There is no doubt that peace would be considerably stronger without the existence of nuclear weapons on either side (or in the hands of any other powers). Far more reliable measures for safeguarding security would be normalizing the political situation, developing and intensifying economic, scientific-technical, and cultural co-operation and extensive contacts between peoples, and resolving all problems and issues by peaceful, diplomatic means rather than maintaining a "balance of fear" (particularly at a high level of military-political tension and with a vast quantity of nuclear warheads on both opposing sides).

The policies of U.S. militarist circles have resulted in billions of people today being virtually potential hostages to imperialism's military adventures. Hence the upsurge of the antiwar, antinuclear movement in many countries, which has become one of the most important factors in world politics in recent years. Scientists play a prominent role in this movement.

The fact should also not be overlooked that the existence of vast arsenals of nuclear weapons, the accumulation of which has been caused by the policy of U.S. militarist circles, and also increasing awareness by the public of the threat of universal destruction, every day, every hour traumatizes the minds of a vast number of people. Psychiatrists, neuropathologists, and psychologists note that the number of nervous illnesses has sharply increased in the contemporary world. In this respect, as Academician H.P. Bekhterev, member of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, notes, the arms race and fear of nuclear war are the greatest neurosis-forming factor creating particularly favorable

conditions for the development of neuroses. The threat to the mind of the individual in the fact of the moral danger to mankind is increasing more and more.⁵

II

However paradoxical it may be at first glance, the situation of "mutual assured destruction" is not only criticized in the West by pacifists, but also by political figures, members of the military, and even certain scientists, who are guided by motives far from peaceableness. Arms reduction and disarmament on the basis of the principle of parity and equal security is unacceptable to them. But "mutual assured destruction" also does not suit them as it signifies recognition of the "nuclear stalemate" inherent in parity, or approximate parity, which calls in question the use of military force as an active instrument of policy and thereby logically leads to the cancelling out of the idea that it is essential to further develop military technology.

Striving to liquidate the "nuclear stalemate," certain political and industrial-financial circles in the United States stimulate the elaboration and adoption of various concepts which envisage using nuclear weapons as a means of conducting combat operations ("limited" nuclear war, "protracted" nuclear war, the carrying out of "measured-out" [dozirovannyy] or "surgical" nuclear strikes'. Military technology and weapons systems are also developed accordingly (Pershing II, MX, neutron weapons, cruise missiles, and others).

First of all we will concentrate on the concept of a "limited" nuclear war, which is expected to "legitimize" the use of nuclear weapons and nuclear war as such. This concept--and this follows from analysis of American official documents and works by military theoreticians which have appeared in the last decade--is now detailed to such an extent that its very presence in the arsenal of American strategic thinking makes the possibility of a rapid slide toward nuclear conflict more real. Today it includes plans for "selective nuclear strikes" against the territory of the USSR and for a "limited" nuclear war in Europe, as well as projects for the use of nuclear weapons during operations by the "Rapid Deployment Forces" in the zone of the developing countries.

When discussing the possibility of limited strikes and control over the escalation of war, and also protracted and graduated exchanges of nuclear strikes, Western specialists frequently discuss the first use of nuclear weapons as if it were some kind of isolated, almost symbolic act, after which both sides will immediately get down to settling the conflict which, in its turn, could, quote, lead to a mutually acceptable compromise. There is nothing more dangerous than ideas such as these. The use of nuclear weapons cannot be regarded as a "demarche in a crisis situation." It would signify a "crossing of the Rubicon" and give rise to a chain of irreversible events. The use of nuclear weapons would threaten the vital interests of the other side and provoke a counterstrike calculated to cause the maximum destruction of the enemy. Nuclear war is not a "joint

enterprise," not a game with rules and limitations known well in advance. By virtue of the physical properties of nuclear weapons and the consequences of using them, such a war would be the greatest catastrophe in history.

The inhumanity of the concept of a "limited" nuclear war also lies in the fact that for certain regions it would be a total war from the very outset. A nuclear conflict that is "limited" from the viewpoint of the United States would signify the destruction of European civilization.⁶

Soviet political thinking and our military doctrine totally reject the very idea of a "limited" nuclear war. As S.F. Akhromeyev, marshal of the Soviet Union, has noted, "in contemporary conditions, given the existence of many thousands of nuclear warheads on both sides, a limited war is impossible. If nuclear war does break out it will inevitably become universal, with all the resulting consequences. The theory of a 'limited' nuclear war, however, proceeds from a false interpretation of the essence of the matter and from the desire to make the very idea of nuclear war acceptable to public opinion and to instill the idea in people that nuclear conflict can supposedly be waged in accordance with some previously developed 'rules'"⁷

The Soviet Military Encyclopaedic Dictionary clearly states that "the concept of a limited nuclear war is considered untenable in Soviet military theory, because it is virtually impossible to keep nuclear war within some earlier defined limits."⁸

Behind the statements and appraisals cited there lies a thorough understanding of the essence and nature of war in general and of nuclear war in particular. This understanding of the phenomenon in question is based on extensive experience of very serious wars in the past and on scientific understanding of the realities of the nuclear age on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology. It should not be forgotten that precisely the Soviet Union bore on its shoulders the main burden of the struggle against that most dangerous of enemies--Hitler's Germany and its Wehrmacht. This in many ways explains the realism which characterizes contemporary military-political thinking in the USSR and by virtue of which there are no artificial constructions in Soviet military-political thinking such as "limited" nuclear war, "surgically precise" nuclear strikes, and so forth. One must be fully aware of the fact that the reality of war is both more simple and more terrible than it is imagined by many armchair strategists on the other side of the ocean.

It is appropriate to recall in this connection the concept of the "friction of war" put into circulation in the middle of the last century by K. Clausewitz, whose work On War was highly appraised by F. Engels and V.I. Lenin. "Friction is the only concept which in general differentiates between real war and war on paper. The military machine--the army and everything connected with it--is basically extremely simple, and that is why it seems easy to control. But let us remember that not one of its component parts is made all of a piece; everything is definitely composed of separate individuals, each of whom experiences friction in all directions.... This terrible friction, which cannot be concentrated, as in mechanics, in several points, everywhere comes into contact with chance and gives rise to phenomena which it is impossible to take into account beforehand, because they are mainly chance in nature."⁹

In Clausewitz's time, the military technology with which we deal today was not in evidence even in rudimentary form. In recent decades, however, the means of waging war have grown and developed from their individual elements into a kind of technosphere. Its existence and rapid growth stimulate to a considerable extent Western theoreticians' creation of super-refined strategic concepts.

However, facts attest that the formation of a military technosphere leads not to a lessening of the "friction of war," but to an increase in this tension--on account of the multitude of extremely complex effects of interaction between the individual and technology in extreme conditions and on a mass scale. This is attested to in particular by certain American research works on the unreliability of fundamental elements of electronic computer technology in real combat conditions.

Before the beginning of the nuclear age, a state's adoption of unrealistic schemes for waging war primarily signified the danger of this state being cruelly defeated in war. To a certain extent, from a purely military point of view, this was advantageous to its enemies. Today one has to relate to this differently. A state leadership that adopts concepts which fail to take into account the real nature of war, and, in particular, concepts calculated on the "controlability" and "limited nature" of military conflicts using mass destruction weapons, condemns its country and its people to certain destruction in the event of war breaking out; it could also drag the whole of mankind after it into nonexistence.

III

The Soviet Union's scientifically substantiated and clear position regarding the danger of different concepts and plans for a "limited" and "protracted" nuclear war is finding increasing understanding among many Western scientists, social and political figures, and mass movements working to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to limit and reduce mass destruction weapons. This fact cannot fail to be taken into account by the American leadership which, in the face of sharp criticism of its policies in the military (primarily nuclear) sphere, has undertaken various propagandist and diplomatic maneuvers. As the 1984 presidential elections drew nearer, the head of state and certain members of his administration began to promise--if reelected to a second term--to make arms limitation and reduction the prime task. In this respect, previous "revelations" by representatives of this administration regarding nuclear weapons were painted over in every way possible and sometimes even refuted. One of the subjects of Washington propaganda was the argument, as, for example, G. Keyworth, the U.S. President's science adviser, stated in an interview with the newspaper THE WASHINGTON TIMES on 21 October 1984, that "one must get away from the accent on tactical nuclear weapons" in Europe. Instead, it is proposed to count on developing new nonnuclear means of waging a war by using the latest achievements in radar and developing optical and infrared sensors, minicomputers, and new forms of munitions of enhanced power. The United States has adopted the aggressive concepts of "air-land operations" and "deep strike" (with increasing emphasis on the key role played by new nonnuclear strike weapons). These concepts are critically appraised by many figures

in the West European states, who rightly regard them as one more attempt by Washington to get out of the strategic "nuclear stalemate" by means of acquiring the ability to conduct large-scale combat operations in Europe without using nuclear weapons, while at the same time envisaging achieving the necessary result in this theater of military operations.

Consideration of all these factors in sum total makes it possible to say that the development of conventional forces and weapons systems spurred on by U.S. actions is progressing in such a way that, by the year 2000, a number of these forces and weapons systems will be comparable to certain types of mass destruction weapons in terms of their strike capacity. And even a conventional war, for example, in the center of Europe, in contemporary conditions (given the existence of vast stocks of hydrocarbons, numerous nuclear power plants, stored waste materials from chemical production, and so forth) would be a catastrophe commensurable with the results of using various types of nuclear weapons.

Another way in which the United States is now attempting to get out of the "nuclear stalemate" is its plans to build a large-scale antimissile system with space-based elements, and also a series of other strategic "defensive measures, including the accelerated development of forces and weapons for strategic antisubmarine warfare.

They are primarily relying on the creation of space-based elements of such a system using weapons based on new physical principles (including laser and particle beam weapons) and electrodynamic mass accelerators. In a speech given on 23 March 1983, President Reagan urged American scientists and the entire nation to concentrate their efforts on realizing a long-term "defensive" program as a "means capable of rendering nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete."

Under the title "High Frontier," the authors of one of the versions of an antimissile defense system, extensively publicized by militarist circles, claim that as a result of building such a system the United States would make a transition from the state of a "balance of fear" to "guaranteed survival." In this respect it is emphasized that the existence of this kind of "defense" corresponds to "the American's ideas regarding military problems." It is obvious that the advocates of building this system try, for demagogic purposes, to play on the natural human desire to find at last protection against the all-destructive might of nuclear weapons.

A working group of the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat has carried out some special research of this problem.¹⁰ The potentials of antimissile defense systems using various types of lasers and neutron particle accelerators were studied. It was a question of lasers with X-ray radiation fed by nuclear explosion, and also other types of directed-energy weapons.

The research work once again confirmed the conclusion made in the "Appeal by Soviet Scientists" signed by full members of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "In reality, the attempt to build so-called 'defensive weapons' against the strategic nuclear forces of the other side... will inevitably express itself

in the appearance of another element increasing American potential for a "first strike".... 'Defensive weapons' of this kind can do almost nothing for a country suffering a sudden massive attack, because it is clearly incapable of protecting the overwhelming majority of the population. The use of anti-missile defense weapons most suits precisely the attacking side striving to reduce the strength of a counterstrike. However, it cannot completely prevent this counterstrike."¹¹

The results of the group's work accord in many ways with the conclusions drawn by scientists conducting parallel research in other countries, including in the United States. Authoritative American organizations such as the Union of Concerned Scientists, the Federation of American Scientists, the Arms Control Association, and also prominent scientists and specialists from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford University, the Brookings Institute, and the U.S. Congress Office of Technology Assessment have expressed their negative attitude toward plans for building a large-scale antimissile defense system.

One of the most important conclusions drawn by the working group of the Committee of Soviet Scientists is that space-based elements of an antimissile defense system will be highly vulnerable to various means of counteraction--both active and passive. What is more, an effective network of such means could be built much more quickly and would cost much less than the antimissile defense system itself--in relation to the cost of the latter the price of an effective system of counteraction would be a matter of a few percent. The vulnerability of the space-based elements of an antimissile defense system merely increases its destabilizing influence. The fact of the matter is that, while failing to provide effective protection against a massive first strike (carried out while simultaneously using every means of counteraction), such a system is capable of engendering the dangerous illusion of the possibility of protection against a counterstrike, in which case it would be more difficult for the already weakened enemy to take countermeasures against orbital combat stations.

As a whole, building a U.S. antimissile defense system is primarily oriented precisely toward ensuring that a first strike can be carried out with impunity. Analysis of a number of official American documents and works by theoreticians close to the administration shows that Washington regards such a system as a potential shield under the protection of which the United States could wage various kinds of wars (including nuclear wars) while concluding them on conditions advantageous to the United States.¹²

Forced to reckon with scientifically substantiated criticism of their plans to build and deploy space weapons, the supporters of this system in Washington have tried to reconstruct their arguments. While admitting now in a number of cases that space-based antimissile defense weapons will not be an "absolutely impenetrable shield," they have begun to lay emphasis on the fact that they will supposedly increase the "degree of uncertainty" for the enemy and make his military planning and building more difficult. However, even this "argument" does not stand up to any serious criticism. The objection is justly made to American apologists for space weapons that they fail to take into account the fact that increased uncertainty for one side will inevitably lead to the same thing for the other side, as well as to a reduction in strategic stability throughout the world as a whole.

Of course, uncertainty is inherent in the contemporary strategic situation now, by virtue of the very nature of nuclear weapons. But to increase this uncertainty still further would mean increasing the existing danger of war breaking out--nuclear war, beginning with the fact that, in order to lessen the degree of uncertainty created for it, the other side would, in the opinion of scientists, have to adopt measures to further develop its strategic weapons guaranteeing it the potential for carrying out counterstrike.

Of course, with its vast scientific-technical and economic potential, the USSR is capable of doing everything necessary in order to prevent a break in strategic parity and also to prevent the slightest illusion from arising on the other side regarding the possibility of acquiring the ability to carry out a first strike with impunity.

Certain American publications regard a space antimissile defense system also as an antisatellite weapons system. In this connection it should be clearly emphasized that the deployment of space-based antimissile defense weapons even on a limited scale will mean increased instability in the world situation and a serious undermining of international security, because the present military-political balance in many ways depends on the existence of control and surveillance systems using various types of artificial satellites of the earth.

Analysis of versions developed in the United States for building a space antimissile defense system leaves no doubt that such a system could be intended not only for striking the other side's satellites and strategic missiles after they have been launched, but also for striking objectives on earth, once again precisely for the purpose of carrying out a first strike.

Many prominent social and political figures in the West recognize the exceptionally important role now played by the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, of unlimited duration, signed by the USSR and the United States in Moscow on 26 May 1972. In this connection we will quote paragraph 1 of Article V of the Treaty: "Each Party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based."

Introduction of another (qualitatively new) component into the structure of strategic forces by one or both of the sides will greatly complicate the entire system of strategic balance and create additional complications for calculating the correlation of the sides' forces. It must also be noted that if the United States were to build a space antimissile defense system, this would place a barrier in the way of Soviet-American cooperation in the utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes. Meanwhile the value of such cooperation is great, including on both an economic and scientific-technical level, because in many of their parameters Soviet and U.S. space programs complement one another. Great would be the role of such cooperation on a political-psychological level--from the point of view of improving the entire atmosphere of Soviet-American relations and establishing mutual trust.

IV

The steady build up of nuclear weapons, the thoughtless utilization of any scientific-technical possibilities that open up, and, as a consequence of this, the undermining of strategic stability and the weakening of the security of the United States itself prompted a group of American experts and politicians at the beginning of the eighties in the direction of seeking to "rationalize" the arms race conducted by the United States. In particular, they have been forced to admit that about 12-15 years ago the U.S. leadership made a serious mistake by embarking on the path of increasing warheads on strategic carriers by means of equipping them with independently targeted warheads (MIRVs). The number of such carriers has been limited in accordance with the SALT I Treaty. Having rejected Soviet proposals to ban intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) with MIRVs, American leaders hoped to retain their superiority over the USSR for the foreseeable future in terms of the number and precision of warheads. However, these hopes proved to be groundless. The Soviet Union rapidly built analogous weapons, thereby preventing the United States from gaining any advantages.¹³

Recognizing that the problem of strategic stability is of a reciprocal nature, the advocates of "rationalizing" the construction of U.S. armed forces (A. Gore, B. Scowcroft, H. Kissinger and others) put forward the idea in 1983 of "deMIRVing," that is, gradually returning to single-warhead strategic ballistic missiles. This approach, in their opinion, would increase the "survivability" of strategic forces and reduce the possibility and probability of a first strike aimed at disarming the enemy by reducing the number of warheads on both sides targeted at every carrier on the other side. It was proposed that at first only ICBMs would be switched to single-warhead missiles, and only in the more distant future--after approximately 15 years--could this also be applied to the sea-based component of strategic forces. This order of priority in the matter of making the transition to single bloc ICBMs revealed the same policy aimed at giving the American side unilateral advantages, considering the fact that land-based ICBMs comprise the basis of Soviet strategic nuclear might, while SLBMs and heavy bombers fill this role for the United States. In this respect the issue of rejecting long-range cruise missiles on heavy bombers is completely side-stepped, although within the framework of the SALT II treaty heavy bombers equipped with cruise missiles are equated in a number of parameters with ICBMs and with MIRVED SLBMs.

The advocates of this approach to restructuring the strategic forces also deliberately ignore the factor of the growth of the numbers of warheads (as a result of extensive programs of MIRVing the strategic forces of Britain and France). There is no doubt that the policy of equipping the single-warhead intercontinental ballistic missiles with high precision warheads, which is now dominant in the United States, runs counter to the interests of maintaining the strategic balance.

In considering such a complicated and multi-level problem as strategic stability it is necessary to take into account a multitude of its component elements, that is, political, military-technical, doctrinal, and other elements.

As far as the military-technical aspects of the problem are concerned, it is necessary to note a whole series of factors which are usually concealed by many American specialists. These factors are:

Reduction of the flight time (in the case of Pershing II missiles to approximately 8 to 10 minutes, as compared with a flight time of 25 to 30 minutes for American intercontinental ballistic missiles), which does not simply make the use of detection and warning means more difficult but in fact also reduces to a minimum the time necessary for making a decision, that is, it disrupts stability to the advantage of the aggressor;

Launching on unpredictable trajectories, which primarily applies to the possible launchings of contemporary or future submarine-launched ballistic missiles and long-range cruise missiles;

Reduced possibilities for radar detection (in particular, by means of "Stealth" technology); and

Difficulties in ensuring two-way communications with command centers (this is especially important for the sea component of the strategic "triad") which increases the chance factor and the danger of unapproved use of nuclear weapons.¹⁴

All in all, strict scientific analysis of the military-political problems--both present and possible long-range ones--made by many Soviet and responsible Western scientists convincingly shows that it is impossible to reliably ensure the security of a state by means of military-technical innovations. Even the very illusion of possible achievement of such security is extraordinarily dangerous.

At the same time, the situation of "mutual assured destruction," also cannot be a guarantee of peace because in this situation the line between peace and war and between existence and nonexistence becomes thin to a certain extent.

The danger of a nuclear catastrophe only increases if we proceed from the principle that a state can protect its security at the expense of the security of others. It is necessary to strive for equal security for all.

However, U.S. militant circles approach the problem of security on the basis of former criteria and categories. They separate national security from international and universal security and strive to ensure national security with methods that have served their time, that is, along the path of the arms race and of achieving military superiority. The intention of restoring the role of military force in world political affairs at all levels and in relation to virtually all subjects of international relations is also connected with this.

A whole range of influential Western strategists in fact strives to refute the qualitatively new properties of nuclear weapons which have effected a revolution in strategy and in the very approach to war. The most reactionary representatives of American strategic thinking strive to prove that thermonuclear weapons should be accepted in general and, on the

whole, in the same way as conventional bombs and shells--except that they have a greater destructive power--and that, correspondingly, they should be used to achieve quite definite and completely real political, strategic, or operational-tactical goals. Certain American scientists-physicists who have become part of the body of the U.S. military-industrial complex speak in an analogous spirit. They try to diminish the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war by suggesting to the public the idea of its "acceptability."

The Soviet side's approach to the role of nuclear weapons in international relations and to the significance of military force in general is of an essentially different nature. As K.U. Chernenko has emphasized, "it is criminal to consider thermonuclear war as a rational and almost 'legitimate' extension of policy. Today, any responsible statesman must realize that setting hopes on force and on the use of nuclear missile weapons jeopardizes mankind's future."

The Soviet party and state leadership, the Soviet public and scientists emphasize that the main directions as regards questions of strengthening international security are arms limitation and disarmament, because the common interest of all states and peoples in not allowing a nuclear catastrophe is connected with them. In the contemporary situation, under conditions of the activation of reactionary and militarist forces, there also can be no other way but the way of gradually advancing to the final goal, the liquidation of nuclear weapons and the step-by-step solution of the task of limiting and reducing arms, while at any given moment equilibrium is maintained, but at a lower level.

Further evidence of the consistency, far-sightedness, and realism of the Soviet approach to the problems of arms limitation and disarmament is provided by the concept, put forward by the Soviet Union, of new negotiations between the USSR and the United States, within the framework of which problems of non-militarization of outer space, strategic nuclear weapons, and intermediate-range nuclear weapons will be examined as a complex. During a talk with Soviet political observers on 13 January 1985, A.A. Gromyko said in reply to a question on the prospects of reducing strategic weapons that "to consider the problem of banning strategic weapons in isolation from the problems of space weapons... is impossible. But if the problems of outer space are examined in the necessary direction and if agreements came to light in this sphere, then progress will also be able to be made in the problems of strategic weapons."¹⁵

An important step on the way to reaching the main goal of the Soviet-American talks--the complete exclusion of nuclear weapons from the arsenal of armaments--would be a quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear weapons by all states in possession of such weapons. The Soviet Union and the United States could be the first to do this on a bilateral basis as an example to other nuclear powers. Despite the frenzied attacks of open and disguised advocates of the arms race in the United States and other capitalist states, this idea has found the broadest support in the world community, including among many scientists who have carried out corresponding research. The Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, which has published the aforementioned special report on this problem,

has expressed its opinion on the stabilizing role of a freeze on nuclear weapons and on the reliability of existing means and methods of controlling and verifying a potential agreement on freezing nuclear arsenals.

The increasing might of the socialist community, the humanist orientation and scientific validity of the foreign policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, the upsurge in the mass antiwar movement, and the putting forward of constructive alternatives to the present dangerous military-political course pursued by the United States and NATO in a number of countries in the West--all this provides grounds for saying that it is completely possible to overcome the present stage of exacerbation in the international situation. This will require tireless and purposeful effort on the part of all peace-loving forces on the planet, as well as a thorough and comprehensive understanding, analysis, and timely disclosure of problems which arise on the way to constructively resolving the cardinal problems of war and peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 2 February 1985.
2. Yu.V. Andropov, Selected Speeches and Articles, Moscow, 1983, p 253.
3. A. Arbatov, The Military-Strategic Balance and the Policy of the Reagan Administration, MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNNYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 10, 1984.
4. PRAVDA, 23 September 1983.
5. VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSR, No 9, 1983, p 80.
6. V. Zhurkin, No to Concepts of Nuclear War, in A New World Order and the Political Community, Moscow, 1983, p 12.
7. VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK SSSR, No 9, 1983, p 48.
8. The Military Encyclopedic Dictionary, Moscow, 1983, p 842.
9. K. Clausewitz, On War, Vol 1, Moscow, 1937, pp 104-105.
10. The Strategic and International-Political Consequences of Building a Space-Based Antimissile Defense System Using Directed-Energy Weapons, Mosow, 1984.
11. NOVOYE VREM'YA, No 16, 1983, p 10.
12. For example C. Gray, Nuclear Strategy and Strategic Planning, Philadelphia, 1984.
13. At the beginning of the eighties USSR strategic forces numbered approximately 2,500 carriers and 7,000 nuclear warheads, while the United States had approximately 2,300 carriers and 13,000 warheads. In this respect it should be taken into account that there is a considerable asymmetry in the structure of the sides' strategic forces. See "Whence Emanates the Threat to Peace," Moscow, 1982, p 8.

14. "The Problem of the Freeze of Nuclear Weapons. Report of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Defense of Peace and Against Nuclear Threat." Moscow, 1984, p 33.

15. PRAVDA, 14 June 1985.

CSO: 1816/13-a

GENERAL

USSR: COMMENT ON NATO MAY MILITARY BRUSSELS SESSIONS

Armaments Plans Listed

OW210903 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 20 May 85

[From the "Novosti" newscast; commentary by Boris Parkhomenko]

[Text] A regular meeting of NATO defense ministers is beginning in the Belgian capital. Our commentary:

[Parkhomenko] Hello, comrades. The icy winds of cold war are once again blowing from Brussels. The participants in the meeting, as if deliberately challenging world public opinion, are preparing to discuss the entire range of questions whose very postulation causes increasing alarm in Europe and throughout the world. At the head of the list is the notorious lagging behind and nuclear rearmament of Western Europe in the face of a mythical Soviet military threat.

There is the impression that the NATO generals and politicians have simply not heard about such acts of goodwill as the Soviet Union's unilateral introduction of a moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles and the collective initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states directed at disarmament and detente.

Moreover, the session in Brussels will examine aspects of the readiness of NATO Armed Forces for a chemical conflict. Foreseeing a new burst of public indignation at this cynical frankness, the Atlantic strategists have acknowledged that the question is particularly delicate and have agreed to discuss it behind closed doors. NATO's conventional armed forces in Europe are also subject to revision, modernization, and increase. This question is also included in the agenda of the session in Brussels.

As reported by diplomatic circles, the question of the participation of West European countries in the so-called U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative will not be officially discussed. However, the specter of "star wars" will be invisibly present at the session. One can be sure that its participants will not fail to use the corridors to exert pressure on those disagreeing or hesitating. Nuclear, chemical, "star wars," and armament, rearmament, and additional armament [vooruzheniye, perevooruzheniye, dovooruzheniye] -- this is the vocabulary, primitive but exceptionally sinister, used by the apologists of cold war who are once again meeting in Brussels.

Thus, much more attractive are the words that come from our country and strike a responsive chord in the heart of every honest person: disarmament, detente, cooperation, and peace.

Weinberger Lobbies for SDI

LD201905 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger has arrived in Brussels. He is to take part in a session of the NATO military planning group. In the view of a number of foreign observers, the head of the U.S. military department will once again put pressure on the NATO bloc allies with the aim of drawing them even further into implementation of the Star Wars plans.

Here is a news commentary by Igor Charikov:

The American capital is not fully confident that the U.S. allies in West Europe completely and unconditionally support the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative proposed by President Reagan. This is because eminent political and public figures and parliaments of the West European countries are to be heard increasingly often and loudly saying that this initiative will only serve as a step on the road to escalation of the nuclear arms race. The prospects of the militarization of space arouse fear and anxiety in them. This was demonstrated graphically during U.S. President Reagan's recent tour of West Europe and his meeting in Bonn with the leaders of the West's leading capitalist countries. Nor should it be forgotten that the United States was the only country at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly to vote against a resolution on the prevention of the arms race in space, in other words they found themselves in isolation.

The voting in the United Nations has shown that the world community is striving to protect space from militarization. The principled and constructive stance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on this issue has found widespread support among the overwhelming majority of states. As is known, the Soviet Union has from the very beginning favored, and continues actively to favor, prevention of the militarization of space.

One initiative after another has been put forward by our side with the aim of preventing the transfer of the arms race to space. Suffice it to recall that the Soviet Union proposed that for the period of the Geneva talks both the USSR and the United States should bring in a moratorium on the development--including scientific research--testing and deployment of offensive space weapons. This proposal was mentioned again in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's interview with the Indian PTI Agency. The adoption of this initiative and other of our proposals on nuclear missile weapons by the American side could help to put the talks in Geneva onto a practical footing and would correspond to the hopes of the peoples of all continents and serve as a good basis for progress on the path to disarmament.

Focus on Conventional Arms

LD210854 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Brussels May 21 TASS -- TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

A series of spring meetings of NATO's leading military bodies began here today. It was started by the defence ministers of countries belonging to NATO's Eurogroup (12 European NATO partners, without France and Iceland. Spain is present as an observer). Simultaneously, the NATO Military Committee has begun a meeting attended by chiefs of the General Staffs of the NATO countries and heads of national intelligence services.

The main items on the agenda of these meetings are the speeding up of the arms race, involving both conventional and nuclear arms, discussion of the American plans for the militarisation of space and the further increase of military budgets. NOUVELLES ATLANTIQUES, a bulletin close to NATO, says that special emphasis in the work of the bloc's military bodies will be put on increasing "conventional" arms arsenals, specifically a 15-year programme for building up conventional armaments, stockpiling considerable munition reserves, and annual increase of national military budgets by three per cent in real terms.

Within the framework of NATO's Eurogroup the defence ministers are to review the progress of work on the joint development and production of new generations of a heavy tank, a naval plane and a combat ground-to-air missile.

As is said by the BELGA news agency, East-West relations are to be examined at these meetings through the prism of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms. The Western press says that the Pentagon's chief will urge the allies not only to support Reagan's so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative" but actively participate in it.

U.S. Unsure of Allied SDI Stance

LD210924 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary, has arrived in Brussels. He is going to take part in the session of the NATO military planning committee, which opens today. In the opinion of a number of overseas observers, the head of the United States' war department will again put pressure upon his allies in the NATO bloc with the object of drawing them even more deeply into implementation of the "star wars" plans. Here is Igor Charikov with a Mayak commentary:

[Charikov] In the U.S. capital there is no absolute assurance that the U.S. allies in Western Europe will completely and unconditionally support the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative put forward by President Reagan. This is lacking because more and more often and more and more loudly statements are being heard from prominent political and public figures and from the parliaments of Western countries to the effect that this initiative will merely serve as a step along the way toward the escalation of the nuclear arms race.

The prospects of the militarization of outer space give rise to their alarm and concern. This was vividly demonstrated during the recent visit to Western Europe by President Reagan and during his meeting with the leaders of the West's major capitalist countries in Bonn.

One can not fail to recall that at the 39th session of the UN General Assembly, in the voting on the resolution on preventing the arms race in outer space, the United States was the only country coming out against its adoption. In other words, it found itself in isolation. The voting showed once again that the world community is striving to protect space against militarization. The principled and constructive position of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on this issue finds widespread support among the overwhelming majority of states.

As is known, from the very beginning the Soviet Union has come out and still does actively come out in favor of the prevention of the militarization of space. We put forward one initiative after another with the object of preventing the transfer of the arms race into outer space. It is sufficient to recall that the Soviet Union proposed that both the USSR and the United States should, for the duration of the Geneva talks, introduce a moratorium on the development, including scientific-research work, on the testing and deployment of space strike armaments. This proposal was made once again in the interview given by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Indian PTI news agency.

The acceptance by the U.S. side of this initiative as well as our other proposals on nuclear missile armaments would help to put the Geneva talks onto a practical footing, would correspond to the aspirations of the peoples of all continents, and would serve as a good foundation for advancement along the road toward disarmament.

Communiqué Ignores SDI

LD230824 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1853 GMT 22 May 85

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The session of the NATO Military Planning Committee ended today in Brussels. It took place under the sign of expanding arsenals of conventional weapons, deployment of U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe, and modernization and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The defense ministers of the countries of the bloc, with the exception of France, which, as is known, has left NATO's military structure, supported a further increase in military spending. Lord Carrington, NATO secretary general, acknowledged at a final press conference that he insisted on the need to perfect chemical weapons.

It emerges from the session's final communiqué that a decision was made to continue deployment of U.S. first-strike nuclear-weapon missiles on the European Continent. These intentions were condemned by Greece and Denmark.

The communiqué makes no mention of Washington's "star wars" program. As Weinberger, the Pentagon head, stated at the press conference, the ministers did, however, discuss this question, but the discussion did not bring the Pentagon the desired results. Most of the Western European NATO allies preferred not to hurry to the support of the U.S. program for the militarization of space.

European SDI Fears Expressed

LD221806 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev

Despite hopes of the Reagan administration which made a "proposal"-cum-ultimatum to its NATO allies for joining in the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" [SDI], Western European countries are in no hurry to announce officially their readiness to participate in the United States' military adventures in space.

Moreover, as the deadline of Weinberger's ultimatum draws nearer -- May 26, 1985 -- doubts are growing even among most convinced "Atlantists" concerning military and political expediency of their participation in the U.S. project of developing a large-scale anti-ballistic missile defense based in space. Inspector General of the West German Bundeswehr Wolfgang Altenburg who addressed a session of the Military Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly had to recognize that the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" posed more questions than it could provide answers to.

Representatives of Western European countries, speaking at the spring session of the military policy-making bodies of NATO in Brussels do not conceal fears that the development of a U.S. space-based anti-ballistic missile defense will seriously destabilize the military and political situation in the world and erode the foundation of the current Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth. A number of observers see a direct connection between U.S. plans for the deployment of an ABM shield over the United States and the Pentagon's concept of a "limited" nuclear warfare in Europe. They note that Washington is still striving for such a situation whereby it would be Europeans, first and foremost, who would have to pay for the consequences of a destabilization of the situation in the world.

And really, if earlier the United States hoped -- without sufficient grounds to do so -- for a relative impunity of aggression because its own territory is far from the potential theaters of operations, now, according to its plans, the "acceptability of a limited nuclear war" in the European Continent should be supplemented by a large-scale anti-ballistic missile defense over the entire territory of the potential aggressor.

Despite strong pressure exerted by Washington, not a single Western European NATO country has thus far announced officially its consent to participate in the American plans for outer space militarization. At the same time France, Denmark and Norway have already declared their refusal to accept Weinberger's ultimatum concerning participation in President Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative".

Under such circumstances, trying to speed up the events, Washington officials resort to unseemly tricks. For instance, after a meeting between U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Alfred Vreven, minister of national defense of Belgium, a spokesman for the Pentagon publicly announced that Belgium had allegedly decided to participate in the "Strategic Defense Initiative". The Belgian minister, however, had to deny the Pentagon's "story" and said that "some people took their dreams for reality".

At their session in Brussels defense ministers of Western European NATO countries discussed the question of how to react to the U.S. invitation to join into the "star wars" program and arrived at the conclusion that common approaches to that problem could not be worked out at the present time.

Weinberger 'Fails To Set Tone'

LD232126 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 May 85

[Commentary by Yevgeniy Kachanov]

[Text] A routine session of the NATO Defense Planning Committee has finished in Brussels. The defense ministers of all the NATO countries, except France and Iceland, accepted a program to further increase arms and military expenditure in the coming years in order to avoid the need, as the final communique says, to rely on the early use of nuclear weapons. Yevgeniy Kachanov comments on this report.

The main result of this unusually short Atlantic marathon was the acceptance of a plan to sharply increase so-called conventional weapons. It includes such points as developing a missile-based air defense system; increasing capabilities for mining sea areas; improving supplies of ammunition; raising the effectiveness of actions in the enemy's rear at the very beginning of military actions, and so forth.

The arguments of NATO's strategists is not marked by anything particularly new. Again, the main reason in favor of forcing the pace of the arms race is the notorious myth of a Soviet military threat and of NATO's having fallen behind the Warsaw Pact in military terms. The AFP agency notes that the session's directives envisage a yearly increase of 3 percent of military expenditures on the part of the bloc's member-countries, not taking inflation into account. Yet, even this increase cannot cover spending on all that the NATO ministers planned.

The communique does not directly name the sources of finance, but one thing is clear: Western European taxpayers will have to tighten their belts still further in order to satisfy the appetites of their generals. However, there has been talk of this for a long time, and the decisions of the Brussels session have not caused particular surprise.

The question remains: Why was the time it was supposed to take cut by half? Why did the session's participants limit themselves to what had been agreed beforehand? The fact of the matter is that Weinberger, the Pentagon chief, this time failed to set the tone, to fully subordinate the Atlantic allies to his will. Despite the undisguised pressure Weinberger put on the ministers, both at the session itself and outside it, there is not a word in the communique of Reagan's "star wars" program, even though it is well known that the Americans again tried to foist the notorious Strategic Defense Initiative on Western Europe. To judge by the session's results, Washington's partners preferred not to approve the American Administration's dangerous plans, and refused to discuss them. In the same way, no action was taken on the Pentagon chief's calls for an unrestrained increase in chemical weapons production.

Under these conditions, Washington was left with nothing to do but call it a day and declare that the agenda had been covered. There was a windowdressing show of the unanimity and solidity of the Western alliance, but this unanimity could not conceal the serious concern aroused in West Europeans by the Washington administration's dangerous plans to transfer the arms race into outer space. Even the NATO ministers are forced to reckon with this concern.

Reaction to Rogers Plan

PM290825 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 85 Morning Edition pp 4-5

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "NATO: What Are They Planning?"]

[Text] For at least 2 years the U.S. representatives in the leading NATO bodies have been plugging a modified doctrine of offensive strategy known as the "Rogers plan." The present supreme allied commander in Europe, General Rogers, was directly connected with its formulation, but it originates in the Airland Battle-2000 concept which had been elaborated by the Pentagon and was supposed to serve as a guide for the global deployment and utilization of U.S. Armed Forces in the eighties, nineties, and beyond.

The program envisages the combined use of U.S. conventional, nuclear, and chemical armaments in arenas of potential hostilities. It allows for the possibility of the United States delivering so-called "preemptive strikes," that is, first attacks intended to disarm. The regions where it intends to employ this strategy were not specified and it is clear why. In a report published in his name late last year Bernard Rogers pointed out that this strategy "portrays how the U.S. Armed Forces will wage hostilities, meeting U.S. GLOBAL [capitalized word published in boldface in original] military commitments." Europe is not the least of these "commitments." The "Rogers plan" is a kind of offshoot of Airland Battle, adapted for use by NATO staffs.

The aggressive spearhead of the program is such an obvious and crude protuberance that it met with opposition from the outset even among military circles in West European countries with NATO links. It was nearly 18 months before the NATO Military Planning Committee actually examined the "Rogers plan" in November 1984. On 9 November the plan's general guidelines were approved by the committee, although opposition to it among government circles in a number of countries that are bloc partners of the United States had not diminished. Its implementation will involve massive new expenditures of funds and resources. The emphasis in the "Rogers plan" on the strategy of "deep strikes" against the Warsaw Pact countries is based on the use of the most sophisticated, up-to-date military equipment.

In an effort to make the plan that bears his name appear less odious, General Rogers gave assurances in the aforementioned report that it differs substantially from the Pentagon's Airland Battle program: "We make," Rogers said, "a clear distinction (in the plan) between conventional armaments and weapons of mass destruction," "we will not resort to a preemptive strike"...

Well, I say, what a mercy for Europe! On the other continents the Pentagon wants to plan to use mass destruction weapons and chemical weapons, but it is making Europe an exception? Why then is the U.S. military keeping such a quantity of nuclear weapons in Western Europe? Why is Washington so obstinately against making an unconditional pledge not to be the first, following the USSR's example, to use nuclear weapons?

No, Mr Rogers, your assurances that with regard to Europe the Airland Battle program will appear purely defensive sound unconvincing!

The NATO Military Planning Committee session just held in Brussels gave further consideration to the "Rogers plan" and confirmed even more clearly than the previous session the full extent of its aggressive purpose. "Nuclear weapons play an important part in the attainment of our goal," the session's final communique says.

The "Rogers plan" is not mentioned by name, but it is what virtually the entire content of the document boils down to. "The Americans are seeking to put it into practice as soon as possible," the West German paper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote with reference to the discussion of the plan in Brussels. It pointed out that none of the goals set by the United States (in the plan -- V. Matveyev) is acceptable to the Europeans.

It is clear even from this NATO Military Planning Committee document, toned down for public consumption, what dangerous ground West European countries' military officials are on when they give in to pressure from the other side of the Atlantic, the purpose of which is to ensure further headway for the "Rogers plan."

First, there is the deployment in Western Europe of the new U.S. nuclear missiles which are regarded in the Pentagon, despite official denials, as first-strike weapons.

There is no mention in the Brussels communique of the USSR's new unilateral, peace-loving initiative: the establishment on 7 April of a moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles and other countermeasures in Europe. Instead, they are again saying that the deployment of medium-range missiles within the framework of NATO must continue.

Having said that, the authors of the communique genuflect in the direction of the Geneva talks! They talk about "welcoming the opportunities presented by the talks in Geneva." Is it possible to wish the Geneva talks success and undermine their very foundation?

Second, when they discussed the details of the "Rogers plan," the West European countries' ministers must have known what a risky game the United States is playing as it prepares to use its armed forces and mass destruction weapons in various parts of the world. It is in the interests of these countries and of the cause of world peace to rebuff these plans posing the threat of the gravest consequences for mankind.

Yet, the communique, albeit in rather vague terms, talks of the U.S. NATO partners' support for the military preparations the United States is carrying out in the sphere of the "Rapid Deployment Force." It is made clear that in certain circumstances NATO may extend its sphere of action to new and unspecified geographical regions.

It should be said that it is this kind of NATO "association" with U.S. global strategy that is the purpose of the Pentagon's Airland Battle program which gave rise to the "Rogers plan."

The propaganda orchestration of the Brussels conference should also be mentioned. It occasioned the appearance of another exaggerated specimen in the spirit of the endless Western fabrications about the "Soviet threat." I refer to the leaking to the Western press of the claims contained in the "secret report" discussed in Brussels by the NATO ministers that "Soviet conventional armed forces will be in a position, with the prospect of success, to launch a full-scale surprise attack on NATO in 15 years' time..." So here we have the "Soviet threat" myth extrapolated into the future! A leak which is 100 percent in accordance with what the Airland Battle strategists want from their partners!

They would like to pretend that the Soviet peace initiatives do not exist. They would like to get on with their militarist preparations unhampered. Broad public strata in the West and realistically minded governments will certainly draw conclusions from what the Brussels NATO Military Planning Committee session revealed. It is not planning for peace and security. It is the planning of international tension and dangerous political and other confrontations.

Military Paper Commentary

PM281407 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 May 85 Second Edition p 3

["Military-Political Review" by Captain 2d Rank V. Kuzar: "Along the Course of Confrontation"]

[Text]. Niccolo Machiavelli, 15th-16th century Florentine philosopher, described people who live off war as "evil" because "they are forced either to strive to ensure that there is no peace or to make such fortunes out of war as to be completely satisfied when peace comes." These words still remain fully topical today.

Really, there is no other description to apply to those figures in Western countries who at this time are trampling the generally accepted norms of morality, threatening the most precious human right, the right to live in peace, following a course of confrontation with maniacal stubbornness, and building up their militarist preparations.

This applies even more so in view of the fact that, in contrast with Machiavelli's time, now they have united within military-industrial complexes for the sake of their criminal goals and have knocked together various aggressive organizations serving the preparation and conduct of wars.

The militarist policy of imperialism and primarily of its strike force, the North Atlantic bloc, has already led to the stockpiling of mountains of deadly weapons.

Common sense and logic indicate that the only correct way is to halt the arms race that is pernicious for mankind, cease the production of mass destruction means, undertake the total liquidation of nuclear weapons everywhere, and prevent the militarization of space. However, the imperialist circles in Western countries are acting contrary to such logic.

This really is so. A series of sessions of leading NATO military-political organs, often described by the press as the "Atlantic marathon," has just ended in Brussels. The NATO Eurogroup at the level of defense ministers from West European countries (excluding France and Iceland, and with Spain enjoying the rights of observer) sat 21 May, with the participation of chiefs of general staff and intelligence service leaders from the bloc member-countries. A session of NATO's Military Planning Committee, at defense minister level, was held 22-23 May.

So what are the general results of the NATO sessions? The "Atlantic marathon" again demonstrated NATO's commitment to the strong-arm approach in world politics, the bloc leadership's striving to intensify the arms race with a view to disrupting the military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and the Atlanticists' unwillingness to support the efforts by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries aimed at disarmament and confidence building.

It must also be noted that the NATO sessions proceeded under unconcealed pressure by the United States, whose interests were represented by Pentagon chief Weinberger, who arrived in Brussels in good time, the very same Weinberger who, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already written, sees the "Soviet military threat" even in his dreams. It was this threat that the U.S. secretary of defense used, and in a much better way than

those of whom Machiavelli wrote, to try to frighten his West German colleagues and force them to unconditionally support the United States' actions in the international arena.

Addressing a press conference on the outcome of the NATO Military Planning Committee session, Weinberger declared that a debate on the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" almost turned out to be the central subject of the session. What is more, commentaries by the Western press make it possible to assume that the "Atlantic marathon" was meant to pave NATO's way toward "star wars." Meanwhile, not a single official NATO document published on the results of the Atlanticists' sessions contains even a mention of U.S. plans to militarize space. Even FRG Defense Minister Woerner declared that this question was not discussed at the NATO Military Planning Committee session.

The question is, who is to be believed? Why do NATO documents fail to state the bloc countries' stance on official Washington's "Strategic Defense Initiative"? The development and deployment of a large-scale ABM defense system with space-based elements give rise to serious fears and anxiety among the United States' NATO partners. In particular, the statement by U.S. Defense Department spokesman Gardner to the effect that "the growing number of ABM space systems would force the enemy to build up the offensive weapons arsenals" was greeted without any special enthusiasm.

This actually is a kind of admission of the fact that was pointed out by the Soviet Union a long time ago: The implementation of Reagan's "star wars" program will inevitably result in a new round of the arms race, and it will simultaneously lead to a growth of the direct nuclear threat against West European countries.

It is this dual approach to the "star wars" plans that is forcing the Atlanticists to delay the final decision. Hitherto, Bonn alone has spoken officially in favor of participating in the space militarization programs. A special commission has been set up in the FRG, which will visit the United States so as to determine on site the way in which the giant military concerns of the Ruhr and Bavaria could join in the preparations for "star wars."

"The Germans are standing to 'attention' before the Americans, but could this not cost us rather too much?" the magazine DER SPIEGEL asked. This is not an empty question. Facts show that the United States does not intend to rest content "merely" with Bonn's involvement in the "star wars" program, but as a matter of fact expects its uncomplaining submission.

The pursuit of military superiority underlies all the fundamental decisions made at the NATO sessions. Obviously in order to please the United States, the majority of NATO's Eurogroup members (except Denmark, Greece, and Spain) and the Military Planning Committee members spoke in favor of continuing the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on the European Continent. The West German newspaper DIE WELT wrote in this connection: "NATO is stubbornly pursuing the course which was initiated by its 'two-track decision.' The bloc's nuclear potential has increased."

In other words, the potential of first-strike weapons like the Pershing II's and the cruise missiles deployed in the FRG, Britain, Italy, and now in Belgium, is being built up. Furthermore, the total quantity of these deadly weapons will significantly exceed the previously announced official figure of 572 missiles. According to the Western

press, each launch installation will have two or more spare missiles while, according to reports in the magazine STERN, it is planned to deploy 258 Pershing II's in the U.S. base in Weilerdach in the FRG alone.

The session of the NATO Military Planning Committee also voted for a buildup of the arsenals of "classic" weapons. It approved the so-called "1985 ministers' directive" which provides political guidelines in the military planning sphere. The directive aims the bloc countries toward developing the latest types of conventional weapons in 1987-1992, and primarily those which come close to tactical nuclear means in terms of their casualty-producing factors.

It is well known that the Atlanticists need exactly such weapons and combat equipment in order to implement the well-known "Rogers Plan" which, in NATO terminology, has been styled the "FOFA" [follow-on force attack] concept -- "delivering a strike against second echelon forces." It must be emphasized that the United States is particularly interested in the speediest introduction of this aggressive concept in the practical work of the bloc countries' armed forces.

The White House, the newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE writes, is calculating "on using greater efforts by West European countries themselves to 'compensate for' the absence from Europe at the critical period of those units of U.S. troops which, according to Washington's new plan, are now intended for use not in Europe but in Southeast Asia." Essentially, this means an expansion of NATO's action zone beyond previously established geographical boundaries, and this, in particular, has been confirmed in the final communique of the session of the Military Planning Committee.

As regards the efforts by the bloc's West European countries, the NATO Eurogroup communique notes that "they account for 90 percent of ground forces, 80 percent of the air force, and 70 percent of warships" out of the total quantity of "alliance members' standing forces deployed in Europe." Judging by the armament programs' provisions, the NATO countries will increase their military budgets annually not by 3 percent but by much more.

The NATO Military Planning Committee session also discussed questions pertaining to the expansion of chemical weapons production. This is no accident. The point is that the U.S. militarist circles have launched a campaign to build up and modernize these barbaric weapons. Naturally, this campaign could not have failed to have an effect on the entire bloc. NATO's Secretary-General Lord Carrington acted as a lobbyist for chemical weapons, and made no secret of that at the press conference.

U.S. General Rogers, supreme commander in chief of NATO's Allied Armed Forces in Europe, has been threatening the West Europeans for a long time now with the allegedly existing threat of the use of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union. His following statement is well known: "If I were the commander of Warsaw Pact forces and an offensive was being planned against NATO in, let us say, the central region, then I would order the commanders of each of my divisions to launch one chemical shell against each of the NATO divisions...., and then I would periodically fire one more shell." In Rogers' words, the NATO forces would soon be rendered incapable of combat and "could easily be taken with bare hands."

It was either such inflammatory statements by the commander in chief, or an unwillingness to go against their transatlantic stage manager, that led to the fact that the

session of the NATO Military Planning Committee instructed its working organs to study the question of supplying the bloc countries' armed forces more extensively with chemical weapons. This decision is evidence of the Atlanticists' negative approach toward the Generva talks, whose objective is to elaborate a convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of their stockpiles.

Sessions of the North Atlantic Assembly and the Western European Union [WEU] were held in parallel with the NATO sessions. Discussion at those sessions also centered on building up military potential, the prospects of joint production of arms, and others of the West's militarist programs. The question of stepping up the WEU's activity and intensifying its cooperation with NATO was once again eulogized.

At the same time, it has to be noted that these forums did not produce such obvious unity as the Brussels sessions. Voices were heard there calling for prudence by ruling circles in West European countries, and criticism was leveled against the Washington administration's militarist policy and primarily its plans for the militarization of space.

Although the Assembly's decisions are not mandatory for the member-countries, the reports presented there and the recommendations adopted will be submitted for examination by leading NATO and WEU organs. In particular, a session of the NATO Council at the level of foreign ministers from the bloc's member-countries will be held in Lisbon as early as 7 June, and it will be the finish of the "Atlantic marathon."

The extension of the term of the Warsaw Pact, which serves as an insuperable barrier for those who would like to resolve by force the historic dispute between socialism and capitalism was a natural and adequate reaction by the fraternal socialist countries to the course, dangerous for the cause of peace, which is followed by the United States and the other NATO countries in international affairs.

CSO: 5200/1176

GENERAL

CONVENTIONAL ARMS DISARMAMENT SYMPOSIUM HELD IN MEXICO CITY

Mexican President Opens Meeting

FL290650 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1950 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Mexico City, 28 May (NOTIMEX) -- Today, Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid reiterated Mexico's pacifist position and called upon members of the world's legislatures to help identify ways to limit arms production and trade and reduce arms stocks, and to add their voices to the universal demand for concord and peace. When he inaugurated the interparliamentary conventional weapons disarmament symposium this morning, the Mexican chief executive said that the \$1.5 million spent every minute on arms production could alleviate the hunger and misery that overwhelms a large part of the world's population.

During the ceremony, the Mexican head of state said the arms race is an attack against the security of all states and undermines the bases of international law. He underscored the fact that it endangers world peace, and enormous material and human resources are squandered that should be used for development instead of to cause death. He said Mexico has affirmed its unflagging will to cooperate with the international community in the search for an equitable order among states, based on the respect for law as the irreplaceable basis of universal peace. He said Mexico's position in the most diverse regional conflicts has not varied, and he is convinced that generalized war in Central America must be avoided. Such a war would have grave consequences of every kind for all the peoples of the region, he said.

He said the Mexican Congress has reiterated that it is necessary to seek through reason appropriate paths for the restoration of stability in the zone, and expressed his confidence that the legislators attending this symposium will add their voices to the universal demand for harmony and peace. He said the Mexican position on disarmament is neither ingenuous nor simplistic. The absurd competition in nuclear weapons threatens the survival of humanity today, and slowing or reversing the arms race is an unavoidable duty. He underscored the fact that this matter is not under the exclusive jurisdiction of the superpowers, although dialogue and negotiation between them is indispensable if nuclear disarmament is to be achieved. He said it is urgent to take specific steps to reduce the danger of a nuclear war but it is not possible to ignore the danger implicit in the growing accumulation of conventional weapons, even in developing countries. He said that more than three-quarters of the \$800 billion spent [no time period given] on war are used to increase stocks of conventional weapons.

He said the Mexican Government has always favored measures to end the conventional weapons arms race. He said Mexico is keeping its pledge to seek at the regional and world levels viable formulas for conventional weapons disarmament. He underscored his certainty that the dialogue beginning today in this capital will contribute to finding alternatives that limit the production and sale of such weapons and reduce the arsenals that have been accumulated.

De la Madrid said there is no genuine security for nations without genuine development. Both the nuclear and the conventional weapons race distort the already fragile world economy, lowering the standard of living of the peoples. He reminded the legislators of Mexico's position in New Delhi and referred to the close relationship between disarmament and development. Ending the arms race implies the establishment of stronger economic relations between the states. More can be done for peace by halting the arms race.

He said the legislators have the responsibility of contributing to the validity of international law and the peaceful coexistence of all states. Stopping the irrational accumulation of destructive forces is a necessary premise for world order. He said Mexico reiterates its unflagging support for the world disarmament campaign and the permanent pacifist vocation because Mexico loves peace and bases its foreign policy on norms of universal validity that makes international solidarity possible on stable constructive bases. For this reason, Mexico unwaveringly defends the principles of nonintervention, self-determination of the peoples, legal equality of the states, peaceful solutions of controversies, and international cooperation for development, he concluded. Representatives from approximately 100 countries are attending this symposium, which will end on 31 May, in this capital.

Nicaraguan Cites U.S. Pressures

FL290820 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2145 GMT 28 May 85

[Excerpt] Mexico City, 28 May (NOTIMEX) -- Nicaragua buys \$200 million worth of defensive armament annually to protect itself from the pressures of the U.S. Government, Ray Hooker, head of the Sandinist delegation to the interparliamentary conventional weapons disarmament symposium, said here. The delegate said U.S. attacks on the Sandinist people and the support it gives the 15,000 counterrevolutionaries have forced the Nicaraguan Government to acquire defensive, not offensive, weapons to protect itself from the attacks. He said that despite the fact that the Nicaraguan people need the foreign exchange [spent on weapons] to invest it and buy agricultural equipment needed for food production, their sovereignty is of the greatest importance. The Sandinist people will fight in defense of their sovereignty and their borders, which are surrounded by U.S. military bases. The Sandinist government spends more than 50 percent of its budget on the defense of its territory, or an estimated half of the \$400 million annually it earns from exports. Nicaragua is burdened by a lack of foreign exchange but must spend that amount on the arms it needs to protect itself. The Sandinist government totally supports disarmament as formulated by the Contadora Group, whereby each country that disarms receives guarantees, Hooker said.

Soviet Opposes Weapons Sales

FL291613 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0245 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Mexico City, 28 May (NOTIMEX) -- The Soviet Union has voiced its opposition to the sale of conventional weapons, warning that the arms race will be stepped up in outer space in the next few years. Soviet Ambassador to Mexico Rostislav Sergeyev stressed that his country endorses the efforts to reach an agreement banning various kinds of conventional weapons. He added that the 1978 negotiations to ban weapons sales were suspended for reasons beyond the participating governments' control. He stressed the need to ban arms displays and construction in outer space because otherwise new types of weapons will be sold without public awareness. Sergeyev later reiterated his country's support for the major goals of the interparliamentary conventional weapons symposium which opened today in this capital. He also stressed support for direct negotiations aimed at reducing the number of weapons. The USSR will make its contribution to the reduction of those weapons, the foreign diplomat continued.

Once again he said it is the Soviet Union's impression that the United States will try to display its space weapons shortly, a development that would pose a danger to mankind. The Soviet diplomat refused to comment on a possible cancellation of Soviet arms shipments to countries such as Nicaragua or Cuba, saying that the United States was the first to unleash an arms buildup among the area countries when it invested several million dollars in equipment.

The Soviet Union, he said, feels that an independent country is entitled to arm itself in order to prevent foreign interference in its domestic affairs and defend its sovereignty.

Finally, he said that the USSR will support Nicaragua economically, especially at these crucial moments for the Sandinist government, which has been accused of receiving socialist aid. This, he said, is an example of perverse logic.

Statements by Danes

FL291726 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0300 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Mexico City, 28 May (NOTIMEX)--Several Danish parliamentarians today stressed the need to seek ways for each country to satisfy its legitimate defense requirements without appearing before other countries as a threat and without thus encouraging the arms race.

At the outset of the interparliamentary conventional weapon disarmament symposium which is currently underway in this capital, Danish representative Shjold Merbin said that it could be argued that disarmament implies a risk, but so does the arms race.

Discussing the subject of conventional-natural weapons, Merbin stressed that it is necessary to find a midpoint between these risks; disarmament measures seem to involve less risk than a continuation of the current arms race.

He indicated that perhaps other participants at this event would concentrate in their presentations on the chance to advance toward laws on conventional weapons and disarmament.

However, he did stress that in the case of conventional disarmament, regional approaches play a particularly important role.

He added that when global solutions are not fully applicable, a regional approach can take into account regional differences and priorities.

He added that in Europe, as in various other regions, it is necessary to substantially reduce the number of weapons. In other cases, it might be useful to reach some agreement banning the introduction of new more destructive weapons or weapons that might destabilize the situation.

According to the Danish parliamentarian, there seem to be good prospects for initiatives on regional disarmament in the form of both negotiated agreements and independent arms-limitations activities.

He also said that the conventional arms race is causing deep and hinders the development of peaceful and mutually beneficial relations among nations. [sentence as printed]

Regarding this, he said that it has been estimated that more than 20 million people have died in wars since 1945.

Egyptian Delegate's Address

FL292228 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1525 GMT 29 May 85

[Excerpts] Mexico City, 29 May (NOTIMEX)--Noting that the arms race in which the world has engaged continues to consume valuable nonrenewable human and material resources, the Egyptian parliamentary delegation said that in 1984 military expenses exceeded \$800 billion.

At the interparliamentary conventional weapons disarmament symposium, which has gathered delegates from 44 countries here, Egyptian representative Omran El Shafei stressed that despite the UN efforts to encourage conventional weapons disarmament, achievements so far have not been encouraging.

According to him, although nuclear arsenals pose the worst threat for mankind as a whole and have priority in terms of global and bilateral negotiations and agreements, it must not be forgotten that conventional weapons have been used in past wars and continue to be used at present.

Further on, he proposed the large-scale participation of the communications media as a means to influence the governments' decision on military production goals and deployment of weapons.

Finally, he asserted that those states which have the biggest arsenals and the most advanced technology must lead the process to reduce and limit the number of conventional weapons.

Role of Transnationals Raised

FL291635 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1545 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Mexico City, 29 May (NOTIMEX) -- Cuba is in favor of bilateral disarmament, total disarmament that touches the consciences of all men, Cuban Deputy Eduardo Ordaz has asserted here. Havana's representative at the interparliamentary conventional weapons disarmament symposium added that the role of those transnational companies that sell weapons must also be reviewed at this forum. Further on, he said that only if the United States agrees to hold a dialogue and discuss and review the arms race problem will solutions be found to this dangerous matter. However, he expressed doubts that the Reagan administration will admit the danger posed by the arms race, as it is the main protagonist of the war imposed on small countries that love freedom and the self-determination of their peoples.

The Cuban deputy also criticized the performance of Ronald Reagan's administration, which he accused of engaging in blackmail, and described as false and deceitful. He also stressed that the day the United States stops attacking small free countries, the Central American crisis will be over. Ordaz defended Cuba's decision to send military advisers to some of the area countries by explaining that this has been done in accordance with existing bilateral cooperation agreements between Cuba and those countries.

Mexican Appeal for Respect

FL131924 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0244 GMT 31 May 85

[Excerpt] Mexico City, 30 May (NOTIMEX)--During the interparliamentary conventional weapons disarmament symposium, Mexico spoke in favor of the establishment of inter-American relations based on respect for international law.

The representative of the Mexican delegation, Claude Heller, made the statement, adding that disarmament negotiations acquire meaning in a bilateral or regional setting. He said the Contadora Group takes special interest in the subject because the mechanisms of control and verification of arms must be impartial, independent, and efficient to merit the confidence of all sides.

He said Contadora is a political and diplomatic mechanism that has shown that peace, which is a product of negotiation and not of the use of force, is technically possible.

Various Participants' Remarks Reviewed

FL131221 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1655 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Mexico City, 31 May (NOTIMEX)--The United States and the Soviet Union together possess the largest atomic arsenal in the world, so much destructive potential that in case of war, the annihilation of the world would be assured.

That statement was made by Vladimir Mikovlich, Soviet delegate to the Inter-parliamentary Symposium on Conventional Weapons Disarmament, which ends here today.

The Soviet delegate added that his country has always taken disarmament negotiations seriously because dialogue is the best way to solve conflicts. The Soviet Union, he said, is prepared to accept general disarmament as soon as agreements on the matter are honored by other large nuclear powers.

Meanwhile, Noor Hussain, Pakistan's representative to the symposium, insisted that the phenomenon of arms transfers not be used to explain the defects of developing countries that are engaged in the struggle to solve social and political problems and especially to solve the economic crisis.

Hussain, an expert at Pakistan's Strategic Studies Institute, insisted that the demand for arms by nations is based on their need to create structures of security, real or imaginary, in the face of continuous threats of invasion, confrontation, and armed struggle in the countries.

The Pakistani official said the security of one country can mean the security of many other countries. He said the efforts of parliamentary groups to verify that nations maintain institutional discussions on security matters could become instrumental in blocking arms transfers in the world.

The Moroccan delegate to the disarmament symposium, on the other hand, said yesterday that there is no doubt now that arms transfers are a source of wealth and development for the countries that engage in it.

The Moroccan position is to state the issue of arms transfers and call this phenomenon arms dependence, because poor countries as well as rich ones, industrialized as well as developing ones, make up a vicious cycle when they practice it and it is the peoples of the less developed countries that lose in the end.

At the disarmament meeting [words indistinct] the UN opinion was heard in the voice of Mrs Swad Esh Rana, who stated that currently, transfers have been observed between industrial and developing nations of so-called counter-insurgency equipment, including rubber bullets and other items, in addition to the continuing practice of trading sophisticated weapons.

Ecuadorean Comments

FL101010 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2320 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Mexico City, 31 May (NOTIMEX)--Despite the fact that at any moment, an international nuclear conflagration could break out, the ancient mentality still persists of arming oneself to preserve peace.

That statement was made by Raul Baca Carpo, president of the Ecuadorean National Congress, who participated in the meeting on conventional disarmament, which closed here today.

Before returning home, the Ecuadorean legislator added that it is necessary to make the chief executives of every country aware of the urgent need for a change that will stop the arms escalation and guarantee man's survival.

He said it would be appropriate to make the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States tripartite rather than bilateral because the two countries now discuss what to do and then announce only the results that they want to announce.

This was the specific idea proposed by the Ecuadorean delegation to the disarmament meeting. It was well received by all the participating countries and will be discussed at the world interparliamentary meeting to be held in Canada shortly.

Another proposal made by the Ecuadorean delegation was for the Latin American nations to get the world disarmament assemblies to hold regional meetings at their conferences.

They said the objective of that proposal is to activate existing regional peace treaties such as the Tlatelolco and Ayacucho Treaties and to discuss the region's needs beginning with principles such as considering an attack on any of the Latin American countries as an attack on all of them.

Finally, Baca Carbo said a good result of the interparliamentary symposium was to give an incentive to the congresses of different countries to act more decisively to get their governments to respond to the disarmament issue.

Cuban, Mexican Agreement

FL031515 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1756 GMT 1 Jun 85

[Excerpt] Mexico City, 1 Jun (NOTIMEX) -- The arms race represents a serious threat to world peace and security, which is why it is the legislators' responsibility to persuade their governments to halt it and avoid a holocaust which would destroy all of humankind.

These were the closing remarks of Mexican Senator Antonio Riva Palacio at the conclusion of the Interparliamentary Symposium on Conventional Arms Disarmament, which was held in Mexico City. Over a period of 4 days, legislators from 60 countries heard views and possible solutions to this controversial world issue.

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca emphasized that his country agrees with the Mexican disarmament policy. He said that what is wasted in economic resources in the arms race by the superpowers and arms-buying countries would satisfy the obligations of the \$360-billion Latin American foreign debt.

The Cuban official also agreed with the Mexican desire to seek a more equitable international economic order. He added that this would require the elimination of trade imbalances, protectionist policies, and high interest rates so that benefits would be equal for both the rich and poor countries.

Malmierca also said that without peace it will be impossible to attain development, which is why the arms race is the main obstacle to the Latin American economic and political objectives.

The countries attending the disarmament symposium affirmed that exploitation of man by man and the worldwide division between the rich and the poor are the greatest contradictions of this century, during which scientific and technological advances have brought about the development of arms instead of soothing the peoples' desire for power.

The participating countries agreed with Ecuador's view that the cause of the conflicts is not the existing differences between North and South and East and West, but rather what the war industry represents as an economic mechanism of the industrial power.

Hunger; poverty; the struggle for survival; the ideological, cultural, and warlike penetration of nations; and the many human contradictions in the economic, political, and social areas are a consequence of unequal development of the peoples and the hegemony of nations. This reality, sustained in the symposium on disarmament, and the increase in conventional arms are currently humankind's principal evils.

CSO: 5200/2649

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

GORBACHEV DISCUSSES ARMS ISSUES DURING CZECH LEADER'S VISIT

Gorbachev, Husak Discuss Issues

[TASS report: "Friendly Meeting"]

[Excerpts] On 31 May Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, who is paying an official friendly visit to the USSR.

The sides exchanged opinions on outstanding international problems. They stressed that now that the international situation is complex and dangerous, it is becoming more and more imperative and urgent to terminate the nuclear arms race and to prevent it from spreading into space. The accomplishment of that task is important not only in itself, but would make it easier to reach agreements on other international questions and pave the way to stronger trust between states belonging to different social systems and to the development of mutually advantageous exchanges and cooperation in the economy, culture, and other fields.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, like the other fraternal socialist countries, are determined to work in this direction. It is quite realistic and possible to restrain the nuclear danger and to advance toward a lasting peace. This only requires that the United States and its NATO allies give up their attempts to upset the existing rough parity of military forces and build their relations with socialist countries on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and respect for each other's legitimate interests.

Gorbachev: Moratorium 'First Step'

LD311551 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 31 May 85

[All quotation marks as received]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 31 May (TASS)--Follows the full text of the speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the dinner given in the Kremlin today on honour of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

"Dear Comrade Husak, dear Czechoslovak friends, Comrades,

the official visit of friendship of the leader of fraternal Czechoslovakia to our country is drawing to a close. If we sum up in brief the results of the visit, we may say that another important step has been taken in the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and in strengthening friendship and relations of an alliance between our parties and peoples.

"We are convinced that the rise to higher levels of economic integration will mean a new quality of cooperation among fraternal countries in all the other spheres as well. Vladimir I. Lenin pointed out on more than one occasion the interdependence and mutual influence of economics and politics. Practice is bearing out over and over again the correctness of this idea. The objective processes of social development prompt today the need to expand the international socialist division of labour and to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the peoples following the road of socialism.

This is especially important in the present-day heated international situation.

We cannot close our eyes to realities. Regrettably, the world situation remains complex and dangerous. American first-strike nuclear missiles continue to be deployed in Western Europe. West German revanchism is again making itself heard; and the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences of the allied powers and the results of the post-war development are called in question with obvious encouragement from the other side of the ocean."

"The actions of the aggressive imperialist forces in different parts of the world, their encroachments upon the norms of international law and their disregard for world public opinion are deplorable.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia together with other fraternal countries are consistently standing for putting an end to the escalation of tension by imperialism, which can lead to nuclear conflict, and are painstakingly working for the solution of outstanding problems.

Our clear position and initiatives on this score are well known. We offered the United States at the Geneva talks to take joint measures to prevent the militarisation of space and to terminate the arms race on earth. This would be immensely important to lessening and eventually eliminating the threat of war."

"The second round of these talks opened in Geneva yesterday. The Soviet Union, as before, will work at these talks for honest and fair decisions in strict accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. Naturally, we need reciprocity in this matter of vital importance.

The Soviet Union reiterates its proposal on an immediate moratorium on nuclear and space weapons. Such a moratorium would hold back already now the arms race on earth and prevent it from being extended into space. Given the rough parity of forces today a moratorium on nuclear and space weapons would not give advantage to either side but would fully meet the principle of equality and equal security."

"The introduction of the moratorium is viewed by us just as the first step which can help strengthen mutual trust and proceed onto the road of radical reductions in nuclear armaments. We suggest that in introducing the moratorium, the Soviet Union and the United States agree that they will make at the talks during a specific period, say, a month or two, their practical proposals on all the questions under consideration, including the levels to which they would be prepared to reduce their strategic offensive armaments, naturally, on the condition that attack space weapons are banned.

We stand for returning Soviet-American relations to normalcy, onto the road of detente and mutually beneficial cooperation. It is time for the American side to translate into the language of practical actions its statements about its readiness to move in that direction."

"I would like to stress with satisfaction that our Czechoslovak friends and we have a common approach to outstanding international problems. We draw on unity for strength. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation has been ensuring for our countries security and the possibility to live and work in conditions of peace during three decades now. Recently it was unanimously decided to prolong it. We shall continue to perfect and strengthen our defensive military and political alliance.

Comrades, the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communists are now advancing towards the regular congresses of their parties. The eve-of-congress period, as usual, involves the summing up of results, the identification of reserves and the formulation of tasks for the future. The most important of those tasks is the strengthening of friendship between allied socialist states, our associates in the struggle for common goals."

"Friendship among the peoples of the socialist countries is the greatest achievement, one may say, our common priceless asset; which we should preserve and replenish.

Let us then continue to do everything possible to strengthen comprehensive interaction between our fraternal parties and to expand relations of comradeship and friendship between the Soviet and Czechoslovak peoples.

Let us continue resolutely to stand for our common cause, socialism and peace.

Allow me in conclusion, speaking on behalf of the Soviet leadership, on behalf of our entire party and the Soviet people, to wish Comrade Husak, the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and all the Communists and working people of fraternal Czechoslovakia fresh great successes in work for the good of their socialist homeland."

Husak: 'Fully Support' USSR

PM041400 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 85 First Edition p 2

[From TASS report on 31 May Grand Kremlin Palace dinner in honor of G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, under the general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere": "Speech by Comrade G. Husak"]

[Excerpts] Dear Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, esteemed Soviet friends, Comrades!

First of all, allow me to thank the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers for the invitation to pay an official friendly visit to your country, for the warm welcome, and for the kind words about Socialist Czechoslovakia, our party, and myself personally. I am also pleased to convey sincere gratitude to Muscovites for their cordial reception. I attach exceptionally great importance to the fact that our meaningful and fruitful talks with Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and my entire stay in Moscow have been imbued with the spirit of the profound friendship, mutual respect, mutual understanding, and trust which typify our relations.

Dear comrades! I would also like to stress the complete unity of our views in the foreign policy sphere. We all know that the reactionary forces of international imperialism headed by U.S. imperialist circles have embarked on a new crusade against progress and on encouraging revanchism. Seeking world domination and strategic superiority, they have initiated a new round of the arms race and are preparing for the militarization of space.

The threat to world peace posed by their adventurist, aggressive policy urgently requires the strengthening of the socialist community's unity, the coordination of its actions, and the rallying of all peace-loving democratic and realistic forces in the world to struggle to avert the threat of war.

Czechoslovakia fully supports the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy and initiatives, which point to real and constructive ways of resolving the questions of arms limitation, reducing international tension, and resuming constructive international cooperation. We also express full support for the concrete new proposals which have been put forward here today by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev.

We will continue to take a full and active part in implementing the socialist community's coordinated foreign policy and in the joint struggle and measures in defense of peace and averting the threat posed by imperialism. We believe that the unanimous decision to extend the Warsaw Pact adopted at the recent Warsaw meeting of the top party and state figures of the Warsaw Pact countries is a particularly important contribution to this. We fully support the conclusion that in the present international situation it is necessary to strengthen their defense capability in the interests of peace and our countries' security.

It is no secret that imperialist circles, using the most varied methods, are constantly trying to drive a wedge between the socialist countries. Czechoslovak Communists are well aware of this tactic and reject it. In its domestic and foreign policy, the CPCZ will continue to adhere to a principled course based on fidelity to Marxism-Leninism

and socialist internationalism. The CPCZ will also continue to consistently pursue a firm line aimed at deepening cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of our community. This policy is the basis of the results we have achieved, especially since the 14th CPCZ Congress. I am convinced that it is the guarantee of the future successes we will achieve in developing our socialist motherland.

In conclusion, allow me to express the profound conviction that the fraternal alliance between the CPCZ and the CPSU, the friendly ties between our peoples, and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and alliance ties [soyuznichestvo] will continue to grow stronger.

We will do everything to strengthen the unity and cooperation among all peace-loving forces in the struggle to avert the threat of war and ensure the victory of the cause of peace and progress worldwide.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak people, Czechoslovak Communists, and our supreme party and state organs, I wish Soviet Communists, all Soviet working people, the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, personally great successes in the work for the good of the Soviet motherland and for the sake of the Soviet people's peaceful life and prosperity.

PRAVDA Editorial

PM041559 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jun 85 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Deepening Collaboration"]

[Excerpts] Constant contacts between the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries and the exchange of experience of constructive work, the joint examination of the latest plans and tasks, and an analysis of the international situation are one of the most important components of the process of collaboration among the community states and their all-around cooperation and unity. New evidence of these fruitful relations was the official friendly visit to our country last May by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR. During his stay in Moscow, the Czechoslovak guest met with M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet leaders.

The meetings and talks at summit level held in the atmosphere of total unity and mutual understanding characteristic of relations between the two fraternal parties and states confirmed the mutual desire for the further all-around development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and the unshakable resolve "to continue to tirelessly strengthen the cohesion of the socialist community and its economic and defense might and actively to strengthen and defend peace on earth.

During the visit, there was an exchange of opinions on topical international problems which showed the complete unity of views and common positions of the two fraternal countries' parties. It was emphasized that now that the world situation is distinguished by complexity and danger, the halting of the arms race and the prevention of its dissemination into space are becoming increasingly imperative and urgent. The solution of this very important task would make it easier to reach agreements on other international questions and pave the way to consolidating trust and developing cooperation between states with different social systems. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, like the other community countries, firmly intend to steer matters in precisely this direction.

The fraternal socialist states are not seeking advantages on earth or in space, but they will not allow the military-strategic parity to be violated either. During the Soviet-Czechoslovak meetings, the great importance of the extension of the Warsaw Pact, which is a reliable instrument for preserving and strengthening peace, was noted.

CSO: 5200/1224

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

GROMYKO DISCUSSES SDI, GENEVA TALKS WITH SHULTZ IN VIENNA

TASS Reports Meeting

LD141836 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 14 May 85

[Excerpts] Vienna May 14 TASS--Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who arrived in Vienna in connection with the 30th anniversary of the signing of the State Treaty with Austria, has had a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

During their conversation, a wide range of matters of mutual interest were discussed on a principled plane.

The Soviet side emphasized the need to make energetic efforts with a view to stopping the development of unfavourable trends in world affairs and to achieving a change for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations.

The overall course of Washington's policy, first of all in matters of security, was critically evaluated in this connection, and concern over the non-constructive stand of the U.S. side at the talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms was expressed.

Andrey Gromyko emphasized the need to abide by the agreement reached in January this year on the subject and objectives of the talks, the agreement which envisages the consideration and solution of matters aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and at ending it on earth in their interrelationship. The implementation of the proposal, which has been put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on introducing a mutual and all-embracing moratorium on the creation and deployment of nuclear and space arms could become the first important step at the Geneva talks.

The attitude of the U.S. side to such a moratorium, Andrey Gromyko pointed out, will serve as an indicator of the trend of its policy and of intentions in the military field.

From the pronouncements by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, one cannot draw a conclusion about the readiness of the U.S. side to translate the U.S. Administration's statements in favour of curbing the arms race into the language of practical policy.

Both sides reaffirmed the intention to steer matters towards restoring and fleshing out the structure of bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations.

The sides described the discussion as necessary and useful.

Soviet Spokesman Speaks to Press

AU142125 Vienna Television Service in German 1925 GMT 14 May 85

[Report on conclusion of Shultz-Gromyko meeting at Vienna's USSR Embassy on 14 May, with recorded statement made by Soviet press spokesman Vladimir Lomeyko in German]

[Excerpt] After U.S. Secretary of State Shultz' statement to the press, Andrey Gromyko's press spokesman Lomeyko presented himself to the journalists. Lomeyko began with a sly hint to the U.S. press.

[Begin Lomeyko recording] Just one moment please. Can you hear me? I shall speak in German. I am here in Austria and German is spoken here, or, if you want it that way, Russian. What is important is to prevent the arms race in space and to put an end to the arms race on earth. The Soviet side said that it will also in the future pursue through these negotiations the objectives achieved [erreichte Ziele--as heard]. The causes of international tension were also discussed and Andrey Gromyko stressed that one of the main sources of tension in the world lies with certain areas striving to impose their will on other peoples, on other free countries, and to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. This is the reason or one of the main sources of tension in Central America, in the Middle East, and also in other areas. I thank you. [end recording]

Press Briefing in Moscow

PM200929 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 85 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] A briefing was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in connection with the conclusion of the stay in Vienna of Audrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR foreign minister. He took part in the festivities in Vienna devoted to the 30th anniversary of the signing of the State Treaty on the restoration of independent and democratic Austria.

Speaking at the briefing, Vladimir Lomeyko, head of the Press Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that the meeting in Vienna between Andrey Gromyko and Austrian leaders confirmed the steady and dynamic character of good-neighborly relations between the USSR and Austria that set a convincing example of equal and mutual advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman reported that A.A. Gromyko held talks and conversations with the foreign ministers of a number of states present in Vienna for the celebrations.

During Andrey Gromyko's conversation in Vienna with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, the overall course of Washington's policy, above all in security matters, was critically assessed. Concern was expressed over the unconstructive stand of the U.S. side at the talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva.

Andrey Gromyko emphasized the need to adhere strictly to the accord reached in January on the subject and objectives of the talks envisaging consideration of questions concerning prevention of the arms race in space and its termination on earth in their interrelationship and their solution.

Journalists' questions were answered.

Spokesman's Comments on Meeting

LD172033 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 May 85

[Excerpts] A briefing was held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Center on 17 May in connection with the conclusion of the stay of Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR minister of foreign affairs, in Vienna, where he took part in celebrations devoted to the 30th anniversary of the signing of the State Treaty on the restoration of independent and democratic Australia.

Talking about the meeting held in Vienna between Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of the State Shultz, Comrade Lomeyko noted in particular:

[Begin recording] The Soviet side has given a critical appraisal of the general course of Washington's policy, especially in relation to topics included in the list of security problems. Particular attention was devoted to discussing the state and progress of the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space arms. The U.S. position at the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space arms was characterized as negative. In the course of his talk with George Shultz, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko stated that progress at the Geneva negotiations is only possible on the basis of a strict observance of the accord achieved in January of this year on the subject and the aims of the negotiations. As is known, these negotiations envisage an interrelated examination and solution of the issues of the prevention of the arms race in space and its cessation on earth.

In this connection, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko noted the importance of the proposal submitted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU, on the establishment of a mutual, all-embracing moratorium on the creation and deployment of nuclear and space arms for the whole period of the negotiations. The statements of George Shultz, the secretary of state, do not permit one to conclude that there has been a change in the U.S. negative position toward a limitation of the arms race.
[end recording]

PRAVDA Review 19 May

PM201625 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 85 First Edition p 4

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "International Review"]

[Excerpt] In marking the 30th anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty, it is appropriate to recall that for a long time the Western powers hindered its elaboration, hoping to bring Austria, or at least part of it, into the NATO military system. The fact that agreement was eventually reached all the same is clear evidence that it is possible to resolve even the most complex international problems through talks, however difficult they may be. All that is needed is the existence of political will on the part of all the interested parties. This 30-year-old example assumes particular relevance today. The foreign ministers of four powers--the USSR, the United States, Britain and France--who were invited to Austria for the celebrations took advantage of their stay in Vienna to hold bilateral meetings.

The greatest interest was aroused among the international public by the talk between A.A. Gromyko and G. Shultz, at which a wide range of questions were discussed in principle. On the Soviet side, the need to stop the development of unfavorable trends in world affairs and secure a change for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations was stressed once again. In this connection, a principled assessment was given of Washington's general policy course and concern expressed over the U.S. side's unconstructive stance at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms.

An important first step at these talks would be the mutual, all-embracing moratorium on the creation and deployment of nuclear and space arms proposed by the Soviet Union. The U.S. side's attitude toward this moratorium will be an indication of its intentions in the military sphere.

CSO: 5200/1179

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

GROMYKO DISCUSSES SPACE ARMS RACE DURING MAY VIENNA TRIP

Speaks at Treaty Ceremony

LD152127 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 15 May 85

[Excerpts] Vienna, 15 May (TASS)--In Vienna's Belvedere Palace where the State Treaty on the restoration of an independent and democratic Austria was signed 30 years ago, a festive ceremony took place today devoted to this jubilee date. Speeches were made at the ceremony by Fred Sinowatz, federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic, Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Gratz, and former Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. Speeches of greetings were made by Andrey Gromyko and the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain and France. In his speech Andrey Gromyko said:

"Only by joint efforts of all the states and peoples, of all the peace-loving forces, can the world's slide into nuclear catastrophe be stopped."

"As for the Soviet Union, it will continue to exert efforts, together with its friends and allies, with a view to restoring and strengthening the process of international detente, to stopping and eventually reversing the insane arms race, and to preventing its spread to outer space. This is the purpose of our recent foreign policy initiatives as well.

Meets French Foreign Minister

LD151619 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] Vienna May 15 TASS--Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, has had a conversation with Roland Dumas, French minister for external relations.

Within the framework of a continuation of the Soviet-French dialogue, they had an exchange of views on some most topical problems on the present-day international situation. Special attention was given to matters aimed at curbing the arms race and at preventing militarisation of outer space.

They also discussed prospects for further deepening bilateral Soviet-French relations and cooperation, including new political contacts.

Meets FRG Foreign Minister

LD161151 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 16 May 85

[Text] Vienna May 16 TASS--A talk has been held today between member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister of the USSR Andrey Gromyko and Deputy Federal Chancellor, Foreign Minister of the FRG Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

In discussing the state of affairs in the world the Soviet side singled out the task of prevention of militarisation of outer space. Andrey Gromyko noted that joining American plans of developing strike space armaments, the FRG Government undertakes along with the U.S. administration the responsibility for the consequences of ensuing destabilisation of the existing military-strategic equilibrium.

Some questions of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG were also touched upon during the talk.

Meets Austrian Foreign Minister

LD161511 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 16 May 85

[Text] Vienna May 16 TASS--Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, had a meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Gratz.

Exchanging views on international questions, the ministers stressed the pressing need to invigorate the efforts of all states in maintaining peace and international security and in taking effective measures to end the arms race, especially the race in nuclear armaments, and to prevent the militarization of space.

In this context Andrey Gromyko drew the attention of the Austrian side to new Soviet peace initiatives, including the introduction by the Soviet Union of a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and on the escalation of other countermeasures in Europe.

Leopold Gratz called for positive results at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva and at other international forums discussing arms limitations and reductions.

The sides expressed their mutual satisfaction with the condition of mutually beneficial bilateral Soviet-Austrian relations and reiterated their interest in the further development of those relations.

CSO: 5200/1179

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR: SECOND ROUND OF TALKS OPENS 30 MAY

Second Round Opens 30 May

LD300955 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Geneva May 30 TASS--The second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms began in Geneva today.

Karpov Arrival Statement

LD291440 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Geneva May 29 TASS -- The delegation of the USSR has arrived here today for the second round of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

In his statement at Geneva airport, Viktor Karpov, the head of the Soviet delegation, stressed that the question of preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on earth is central to both Soviet-U.S. relations and development of the international situation as a whole. The peoples expect tangible results from these negotiations since, as it has been pointed out by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the world now is at the threshold of another spiral of unprecedented scale in the arms race which threatens to escalate into a qualitatively new phase.

The U.S. "star wars" program, i.e. the program of developing and deploying space strike arms, carries with it a considerably greater risk of nuclear war and sharply reduced chances of reaching agreement on disarmament issues. On the contrary, renunciation of the development, including research, testing and deployment of space strike arms, would open the way to radical reductions in nuclear arms and, ultimately, to the realization of mankind's cherished dream -- complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere.

That is why nuclear and space arms questions must be considered and resolved in their organic interrelationship as provided for in the Soviet-U.S. agreement of January 8, 1985. This agreement should be strictly adhered to in all its parts.

The Soviet side, Viktor Karpov said, has done and will continue to do its utmost to ensure that the agreement on the subject and objectives of the talks be translated into concrete accords leading to a lesser risk of nuclear war, a drastically reduced level of nuclear confrontation between the USSR and the U.S., and to enhanced stability and international security. It is precisely with these instructions that the Soviet delegation has arrived in Geneva to continue the negotiations with the U.S. delegation.

We would like to hope that the U.S. side has made the necessary adjustments in its position and will be prepared to work out practical solutions on both space and nuclear arms issues, the head of the Soviet delegation said in conclusion.

Karpov Statement Before Talks

AU301036 Paris AFP in English 1024 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Geneva, May 30 (AFP) -- Soviet and U.S. negotiators today opened a second round of talks on arms control here, after a month-long break. The first full session of negotiators making up three working groups -- strategic nuclear arms, intermediate range nuclear weapons and space -- was being held at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations in Geneva.

The head of the Soviet team, Viktor Karpov, chatted with reporters before going into the talks, noting that it was important to respect the agreement reached between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and his Soviet counterpart Andrey Gromyko in January which linked the nuclear arms talks with discussions on space weapons.

"My delegation intends to negotiate on that basis," he said. "I am here to reach an accord eliminating all possibility of nuclear war on earth and preventing it from spreading to space," he said, paraphrasing the Shultz-Gromyko agreement.

Asked whether he was optimistic about the outcome, he said: "I am a practical optimist."

U.S. 'Constructiveness' Urged

LD292155 Moscow TASS in English 2137 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 29 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev.

The Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms resume in Geneva tomorrow. Washington showed every sign of activity before the opening of the second round of the Geneva talks. President Reagan received the head of the U.S. delegation at the talks, the U.S. Department of State issued a special statement concerning the second round of the talks, a number of officials delivered lengthy speeches on the subject.

It would seem all this must be prompted by the care about the coming important talks, by the striving to give an impetus to them for the progress. It turns out that none of these can be found in all those demarches. The only thing characteristic of them is the distortion of the real state of affairs at the talks and the unrestrained publicising of the American stand.

The U.S. delegation tried to show considerable flexibility in Geneva, says a statement of the U.S. Department of State. Flexibility is the hallmark of our approach to the talks, says Deputy Press Secretary of the White House Larry Speakes. Our delegation is capable of showing the necessary flexibility at the talks, Max Kampelman, the head of the U.S. delegation, promised in his statement at the Geneva airport.

But these are mere words with nothing to confirm them. The stand of the USA in the first round of talks had no elements of constructiveness whatsoever. Washington's "flexibility," in the sense most negative for the talks, was manifested in its departure from the January agreement on the subject and objectives of the talks. As to the advertising of the flexibility in the second round, it is absolutely clear already now that it can hardly be expected. Max Kampelman himself admitted that the directives for his delegation remained basically the same, and Larry Speakes declared even more definitely:

He said that the stand remains the same, that there will be no alterations. What is all this about then, what "flexibility," what dynamics can there be if everything remains the same, if the U.S. stand remains as unconstructive as before?

According to Max Kampelman, the President reaffirmed the objectives for which the U.S. delegation will be pressing in Geneva: to reach radical reduction of offensive nuclear arms and to create a more stable situation on earth and in space. Apparently, they in Washington believe that, by deploying attack space arms in outer space, this "more stable situation" can be achieved there. It follows from this that the U.S. Administration failed to "recall" by the second round of the talks something on which the Soviet Union and the United States agreed in January -- that is, on working out a decision on the prevention of an arms race in space.

The realities of the present-day strategic situation are such that because of the existence of objective interrelationship between offensive and defensive armaments any attempt at the militarization of the space will lead to a sharp disruption of the strategic balance and to the inevitable build-up and qualitative perfection of offensive nuclear weapon systems, to the arms race in all directions. So in this case the situation will not be stable either in space or on earth.

As to the aim proclaimed by the head of the U.S. delegation -- to achieve radical reduction of offensive nuclear arms, this is nothing more than mere words, words that are not borne up by deeds. As the first round showed, the U.S. side limited itself to the repetition of its proposals made at earlier talks, the proposals not at all aimed at achieving agreement with the USSR, the proposals running counter to the principle of equality and equal security. They in Washington now talk constantly about the intention to speed up the development of attack space arms. Washington does not answer the Soviet Union's proposals for a radical reduction of strategic offensive arms, for a moratorium on the creation of space arms and a freeze of nuclear arms. By its talk about readiness for reductions the U.S. Administration would like to continue to camouflage its military preparations.

For the achievement of real advance at the second round, the United States ought to revise its stand in favour of constructiveness and businesslike approach. If this has not been done in Washington, Max Kampelman's statement upon the arrival in Geneva that it can be hoped that the talks will be stimulated and speeded up during the second round will remain empty words.

U.S. Stand Questioned

LD301016 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0933 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Moscow, 29 May (TASS) --- TASS political observer Anatoliy Krasikov writes:

Can the U.S. Government be trusted as a serious partner in international talks? This question acquires particular topicality in connection with the start of the second round of Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

In a joint statement adopted by Andrey Gromyko and George Shultz on 8 January this year, it was clearly defined that the aim of these talks should be the prevention of the arms race in space and stopping it on earth. The first round of the talks yielded no results,

and the American side is conducting itself in such a way as if no agreement on the topic and aims of the talks had been reached on 8 January, and is evading discussion of the issue of the nonmilitarization of space. Meanwhile, the refusal to discuss this issue and the implementation of the plans Washington nurtures for creating strike space weapons should not only wreck the Geneva talks, but also cancel the very prospect of stopping the arms race.

Representatives of the American leadership do not skimp on statements about their desire to hold talks with the Soviet Union and of their readiness to "display flexibility." In fact, to judge by all appearances, they need talks not for the attainment of a mutually acceptable agreement, but only to placate their people with an appearance of dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, experience of the Soviet Union's previous talks with the United States on arms limitation do not give grounds for optimism. The SALT II agreement, which was elaborated and signed after many years of discussion, was not ratified by the U.S. side, and now, when the arms buildup in the United States has reached the ceilings set in this agreement, there is talk in Washington that it should simply be thought to have no substance.

As practice shows, it costs the U.S. leaders nothing to renounce their signatures on international legal documents. So many of these documents have been denounced in the recent past by Washington's unilateral decision! The de facto deviation from the agreement of 8 January is just another link in the same chain.

Burt Speech Viewed

LD292107 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 29 May 85

[TASS headline: "The United States' Course Toward Revising Accords"]

[Text] Moscow, 29 May (TASS) -- TASS military affairs observer Vladimir Bogachev writes:

Speaking on the state of Soviet-American relations in Washington's Council for International Affairs on 28 May, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt expressed dissatisfaction with the consistency and continuity of the USSR's foreign policy.

Announcing that "the Reagan administration has armed itself with a strategy which is not aimed at a prospective rapprochement with the Soviet Union," Burt justified the U.S. policy of confrontation with the socialist countries by once more dragging into the open falsified "facts about the Soviet military and political threat." He claimed that "progress in relations with the USSR, including the domain of arms control, is impossible," unless the Soviet Union accepts a number of U.S. political demands.

In his speech, Burt resorted to the method of "double standards," perfected by U.S. propaganda, stating, for example, that a reduction of land-based Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles through negotiations will allegedly "lead to a more stable military balance," whereas the deployment of American MX ICBM's has the sole aim of "convincing the USSR of the pointlessness of the missile arms race." This did not prevent Burt from announcing the United States' "wish and capability to compete" in the arms race.

The U.S. assistant secretary of state's anti-Soviet speech, which was delivered in a free-and-easy tone, forces one to conclude that at the second round of talks between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space weapons, beginning on 30 May, the U.S. side intends to continue to hold to its obstructionist course, to its intention of revising the joint USSR-U.S. statement of 8 January 1985 concerning the subject and aims of the Geneva talks.

As emerges from Burt's speech, Washington is now proposing to the Soviet Union... [TASS ellipsis] a "briefing" on the U.S. "star wars" program instead of a solution to the issue of preventing the militarization of space.

The talk by the U.S. assistant secretary of state on the (the United State's) "readiness" for new approaches in the relations with the Soviet Union constitutes a clumsy attempt to mislead world public opinion regarding the real position of Washington at the talks in Geneva. According to U.S. press reports, representatives of the Reagan administration are stating that the United States "will stick to its former positions in Geneva and will not put forward any kind of new proposals at the second round of the talks." Larry Speakes, White House deputy press spokesman, indicated that members of the U.S. delegation in Geneva "have not received any new instructions."

The "flexibility" of the U.S. position in Geneva, which Washington is now going on about, is of a very onesided nature and boils down to the U.S. side's readiness to abandon anything positive achieved during previous meetings and talks.

CSO: 5200/1172

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR'S VOROTNIKOV, VISITING CANADA, COMMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL

Makes Arrival Statement

PM281005 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 85 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stay in Canada"]

[Excerpts] Ottawa, 27 May--Vitaliy Vorotnikov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, arrived in Ottawa on a visit of friendship at the invitation of the Federal Government of Canada and the Government of the Alberta Province.

On his arrival in the Canadian capital, the head of the Soviet delegation made the following statement: We have arrived in Canada at the invitation of the Federal Government of the country and the Government of the Alberta Province.

The purpose of our visit is to further political dialogue between the USSR and Canada so as to move our positions closer and to find a common basis for tackling outstanding problems of our time. We stand for strengthening Soviet-Canadian cooperation in order to achieve the goals that are common to mankind as a whole; namely, to remove the threat of nuclear war, to bridle the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, on earth and to prevent it in space, and to return international relations to the road to detente and mutually beneficial cooperation.

All the efforts of the Soviet state and its peace proposals and initiatives, as everyone knows, are oriented to this goal.

Meets With Mulroney

LD280724 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 28 May 85

[Excerpt] Ottawa 28 May TASS -- Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Vitaliy Vorotnikov has had a meeting here with Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Vitaliy Vorotnikov handed over to Brian Mulroney a personal message from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Key problems of the present-day international situation and also some questions of bilateral Soviet-Canadian relations were discussed during the talk which passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Having expressed concern and anxiety over the heightened tension in the world, Vitaliy Vorotnikov and Brian Mulroney declared in favour of urgent efficient steps to be taken to lessen the nuclear threat, to bring international relations back into the channel of detente and peaceful mutually advantageous cooperation of states. This is the aim of the Soviet peace initiatives, above all at the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, aimed at preventing the arms race in outer space and putting an end to it on earth, starting a radical reduction of nuclear armaments up to their full liquidation, stressed V. Vorotnikov. Advancement to the goal of the negotiations in Geneva is possible and feasible, provided the reciprocity of the American side, its serious business-like approach, and readiness to find mutually acceptable decisions on the basis of equality and undiminished security.

Brian Mulroney on his part dwelt on Canada's interest in efficient accords at the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva. He stated the Canadian Government's desire to continue the practice of bilateral political contacts, to broaden and deepen links with the Soviet Union in different spheres.

Clark, Vorotnikov Dinner Speeches

LD280818 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Ottawa May 28 TASS -- Canada's Foreign Minister Joseph Clark has given a dinner in honour of member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Vitaliy Vorotnikov, now on a friendly visit here.

Welcoming the Soviet guest, Joseph Clark noted that Vitaliy Vorotnikov's visit promoted the development of bilateral relations, better understanding of each other's positions, aims and motives. The foreign minister said that serious differences existing between East and West did not rule out development of relations distinguished by broader cooperation and less confrontation, better understanding of mutual intentions, bigger recognition of mutual interests and a greater extent of mutual respect. To attain these aims, he said, it is necessary to have an open political dialogue, broader relations based on more active contacts and cooperation. We should specify the spheres in which we have common interests.

Joseph Clark said that similarity of Canada's and the Soviet Union's climatic and geographical conditions were the foundation for exchange of experience in solution of development problems facing the two countries. The foreign minister admitted it was necessary to diversify the structure and the character of trade relations between the two countries.

We in Canada believe, stressed Joseph Clark in conclusion, that despite the differences existing between us, and rather because of these differences, it is essential to continue the dialogue, meetings and to lend our bilateral relations a greater impetus both in the interests of both countries and in the interests of improvement of East-West relations.

Speaking in reply, Vitaliy Vorotnikov expressed the sincere desire of the Soviet Union to promote expansion and deepening of goodneighbourly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation with Canada on a stable and long-term basis. Our course of all-round development of Soviet-Canadian relations is of a long-term, fundamental character, he said.

We treat Canada as a serious partner in international relations. In cardinal questions of war and peace there are no bystanders, and cannot be. All states can and should take part in the search for constructive solutions of the key problems of the present, in the efforts to lessen international tension. The louder is the voice of every state, including Canada, in favour of reason and realism in world politics, the more confident and nearer will be the prospects of attaining the ultimate goal -- a world without wars and weapons.

Having recalled comradeship-in-arms between the USSR and Canada in the years of the Second World War, Vitaliy Vorotnikov emphasized (?that) necessary now as never before are the climate of confidence and mutual understanding, persistent efforts in order to stop the dangerous buildup of nuclear armaments, to prevent militarisation of outer space, to bring international relations back into the channel of detente.

We are confident that the dangerous course of events can be sharply stopped if, for instance, tangible success is attained in Geneva, at the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space armaments. As to the Soviet Union, it has come to Geneva ready to conduct negotiations in an honest and businesslike way, to attain accords on prevention the arms race in outer space, its termination on earth. The Soviet Union is for a meaningful political dialogue, for negotiations on the basis of equality and undiminished security, he said. We are firmly confident that peace will be strong if peaceful constructive coexistence, equality and mutually beneficial cooperation of states, irrespective of their social systems, become the supreme, universal laws of international relations.

Vitaliy Vorotnikov noted that there are no serious obstacles to further onward development of the relations between the USSR and Canada. There are no disputable questions between the two countries, nowhere do our state interests clash. To develop our relations, to fill them with a new, concrete content -- this is the aim of our course, he stressed.

Issues Departure Statement

PM031333 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 85 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Excerpts] Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, made the following statement for the press before leaving by air for home:

In the present-day complicated and tense situation, it is important, as never before, to pool the efforts of all states in order to lessen the threat of a nuclear war and curb the nuclear weapons race, which, and this should be clear to all, cannot ensure anybody's security. What is expected is a responsible attitude from statesmen and politicians, real steps in the interests of peace and detente, and the readiness to actively build relations between states with different socioeconomic systems on the basis of equality and with due regard for each other's legitimate interests.

We believe that there are no international issues that could not be settled at the negotiating table. Detente and business cooperation can and should be a natural and permanent state of international life -- such is the Soviet Union's stand. We hope that our efforts aimed at ensuring lasting peace on earth will meet with understanding and support from the Canadian side. We see Canada as a serious partner, taking into account the role played by our country in resolving world problems.

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

SOVIET REPORTAGE ON ITALIAN PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT

Importance of Arms Issues

PM290921 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent N. Paklin dispatch: "USSR-Italy: Mutual Understanding Growing Stronger"]

[Text] Rome -- In Italian political and public circles, paramount importance is being attached to the forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union by Italian Prime Minister B. Craxi. The influential newspaper LA REPUBBLICA stresses that B. Craxi's visit will continue a series of meetings between Italian and Soviet leaders, including the talk this March in Moscow between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Italian President A. Pertini and Foreign Minister G. Andreotti; the official visit to Rome at the end of February by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR foreign minister; and the recent meeting in Vienna between A.A. Gromyko and G. Andreotti. For its part, the Rome newspaper IL TEMPO notes that B. Craxi's trip is being made at a time of a "considerable improvement in Italian-Soviet relations."

Ties between the Soviet Union and Italy have recently been marked by dynamic development. It is not just a question of the traditional spheres for Soviet-Italian relations such as economics and culture. The political dialogue reflecting the two countries' desire to maintain good stable relations with each other is developing.

However, as the practice of Soviet-Italian relations shows, the political dialogue is not restricted to the framework of bilateral ties, however important they may be. It has as its core the key problems of international relations, and primarily the questions of war and peace. The Italian Government positively assessed the accord reached on the subject matter and goals of the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the questions of nuclear and space arms. At the same time, it stated the need to prevent an arms race in space. This was also made extremely clear in the Soviet-Italian statement on the results of A.A. Gromyko's talks in Italy. This principled position was reaffirmed by G. Andreotti in Vienna in mid-May. The Italian Government advocates strict observance of such an important Soviet-U.S. agreement as the ABM Treaty signed in 1972. People in Italy are noting that the U.S. intention to implement a program to militarize space clearly contravenes this fundamental document.

In Italy eminent politicians belonging to the five-party coalition camp, the leaders of a number of political parties, including the Italian Communist Party, and representatives of the public and scientists are speaking out against these extremely dangerous plans. Italian newspapers feature numerous statements by foreign figures against Washington's course of preparing for "star wars." There has been a widespread response here to the statement by the famous Italian physicist Bruno Rossi, one of the "fathers" of the atom bomb, now living in the United States. "I do not believe in Reagan's space shield. Moreover, I believe it is dangerous for the strategic balance of power," he said in an interview with Turin's LA STAMPA newspaper.

The pressure from Washington, which has set its sights on involving its Western European NATO allies in the creation of the "space shield" at all costs, is causing indignation in Italy. The Italian Government has by no means rushed to respond to the U.S. ultimatum on joining the West Europeans in the "star wars" project. Of course, there are also influential forces in Italy that unreservedly support every U.S. initiative, including the program for a so-called large-scale "ABM defense." Politically and economically, these forces are closely linked with Washington. However, it seems that they are not the ones setting the tone today in the Appennine Peninsula.

The Italian Government has repeatedly stressed that it intends to make its contribution to the search for ways leading to an easing of international tension, a reduction of the opposing sides' nuclear arsenals, and a political settlement of the conflicts on various continents that poison the international situation. People in Italy are starting to realize more clearly how dangerous continuing the nuclear arms race, and particularly the siting of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles on a number of West European countries, including Italy, is for the cause of peace.

Italy greeted with great interest the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally introduce a moratorium until this November on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and to halt the implementation of other retaliatory measures in Europe. Objecting to those in the West who rushed to term Moscow's new peace-loving step "propagandist," B. Craxi said: "On the contrary, I think that it testifies to a desire for dialogue. This proposal deserves a counterproposal."

One cannot fail to note also the positive shifts in interparliamentary ties between the two countries. A prestigious delegation from the lower house Defense Committee headed by its chairman, the famous Italian politician A. Ruffino, has just visited the Soviet Union. This was the first visit to the Soviet Union by such a delegation from a NATO country. During the meeting with members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissions, the sides reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of strengthening trust and cooperation, removing the threat of war, and strengthening peace on the basis of maintaining military-strategic parity at the lowest possible level.

On the whole, the impression was formed that Italy is striving to make its own independent contribution to the East-West dialogue. Italian Government representatives recently held talk in Budapest and Warsaw and quite recently received a high-level GDR delegation in Rome. Through its foreign minister, Italy has repeatedly stressed the importance of the Helsinki accords enshrined in the Final Act of the all-European conference and of the Stockholm conference.

Meetings and talks between Soviet and Italian leaders have always been held in a business-like, constructive spirit and have promoted the development of bilateral relations. On the eve of B. Craxi's visit to the Soviet Union people here are expressing confidence that this will also be the case this time.

Talks With Gorbachev

PM301013 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 May 85 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "In a Constructive Atmosphere"]

[Excerpt] Talks took place 29 May in the Kremlin between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Craxi, chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers, who has arrived in the USSR on the invitation of the Soviet leadership. On the Soviet side, the participants in the talks were Comrade Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Comrade Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR minister for foreign affairs. On the Italian side was Minister for Foreign Affairs Andreotti.

At the center of a thorough and businesslike exchange of opinions were key international issues and aspects of the further development of Soviet-Italian relations. This exchange showed once again that despite differences in their assessments and approaches to a number of important aspects of the world situation, the Soviet Union and Italy have opportunities of searching for and finding points of contact on such vitally important issues as eliminating the threat of war, restoring detente, and strengthening the political dialogue between states with different social systems.

It was noted that the Soviet Union and Italy are willing to facilitate the reciprocal efforts of states in the West and in the East to ease tension in international relations.

It was mutually recognized that a lessening of military danger, for which both the USSR and Italy strive, depends to a significant extent on whether there is success in reaching specific accords on preventing an arms race in space and putting an end to it on earth, on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons and strengthening strategic stability.

In this context, both sides attach very great importance to the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, and are in favor of the implementation of the accord reached earlier about their aims and subject.

Giving an appraisal of the state of affairs at the talks, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union is firmly attuned to seeking and finding mutually acceptable decisions on all three of the areas which are the subject of the talks.

It is especially important to set up a reliable barrier to the militarization of outer space, in order to prevent the undermining of the strategic stability which has formed. The Soviet proposal to halt any activities toward creating strike space weapons and to freeze existing nuclear missile arsenals during the talks, in order to go over to deep cuts in both strategic and medium-range weapons, is aimed at making progress towards the objectives set by the sides before the Geneva talks as easy as possible.

The same aim is pursued by the USSR's decision to unilaterally impose a moratorium on the deployment of Soviet medium-range missiles and to suspend other countermeasures in Europe. Were the other side to give an adequate response to this manifestation of goodwill by the Soviet Union, this would create more favorable conditions for the Geneva talks themselves and a healthier political atmosphere around them.

The hope was expressed that Italy's approach to these issues, which are of great importance in principle, and also Italy's practical actions, would be considered and realistic, which would help to restrain the nuclear arms race, first and foremost in Europe.

In general, Craxi spoke in favor of the establishment of an equilibrium of forces and at the lowest level possible. He stressed that Italy intends to act in a way that will help achieve the final objectives of the talks: preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth.

Comrade Gorbachev and Craxi expressed the common opinion about the desirability of helping a constructive continuation of the process of strengthening of security and development of cooperation in Europe. The conviction was expressed that Europe can and must play a substantial and irreplaceable role in the energetic search for paths leading to international relations being placed back on the track of detente. In this regard, the valuable experience of the seventies can be used broadly.

Craxi 'Satisfied' With Talks

LD291512 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 29 May 85

[Excerpt] Moscow, 29 May (TASS)--"I am satisfied with the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, which passed in a friendly atmosphere of sincerity, and see their results as being positive," Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi told a press conference at the Italian Embassy here today.

"We became convinced of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union and expressed interest in the success of Soviet-American talks in Geneva, despite their complexity," he said. The Italian prime minister added that he understands the concern of the Soviet side which believes that the U.S. so-called Strategic Defense Initiative will upset the existing balance of forces.

Gorbachev Speaks at Dinner

LD291944 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 29 May 85

[Report on a speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at dinner in honor of Italian Prime Minister Bettino Fraxi in the Kremlin on 29 May--read by announced]

[Text] The Soviet leadership gave a dinner in the Grand Kremlin Palace today in honor of Bettino Craxi, the Italian prime minister. Together with Craxi were Foreign Minister Andreotti and other Italian state officials, who are accompanying him on his visit. On the Soviet side, the dinner was attended by Comrades Gorbachev, Tikhonov, Gromyko, Demichev, and Ponomarev; Comrade Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR ministers; chairmen of USSR state committees, and other officials.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a speech at the dinner. He said:

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister, esteemed Mrs Craxi, esteemed Italian guests, Comrades:

We are happy to welcome you in Moscow, esteemed Mr Craxi, all the more so since this is your first visit to our country in your capacity as the Italian head of government. Your visit to the Soviet Union undoubtedly is a sign of the desire of both sides to give an additional impetus to the Soviet-Italian political contacts. We appreciate the fact that mutually beneficial relations have been established and continue to develop effectively between the USSR and Italy in various fields.

On more than one occasion in Western Europe, we have seen Italian statesmen displaying far-sightedness and a well-balanced approach and supporting substantial moves aimed at improving East-West relations. Nor have we forgotten major bold and enterprising actions in trade and the economy, which continue to be symbolised by the huge plant in Togliatti on the Volga River.

Neither you nor we close our eyes to the fact that there are differences, quite substantial ones, between the USSR and Italy on certain international problems. It is important, however, that there also is an obvious mutual desire for establishing a constructive dialogue and for a joint search for ways to lessen today's dangerous tension.

There is indeed a need for action here. The world is living through difficult times. The hopes which the peoples were justifiably pinning on the process of positive change in international relations, initiated thanks to the efforts of many countries during the 1970's, have not been met, the reasons for which we have pointed out on more than one occasion. That process was superseded by confrontation, the mentality of which is spurring on the arms race, which has gone too far as it is. An arms buildup aimed at breaking the existing military-strategic parity is for its part breeding in certain quarters a dangerous fondness for methods and means of aggression in foreign policy. This vicious circle of confrontation-arms race-confrontation can and must be broken. Human civilization just does not have any choice.

Italy and, of course, not only Italy can be certain of the Soviet Union's policy. Our people, who paid a high price for the right to live in peace and freedom, are devoting every effort to peaceful construction, to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and to raising the material and cultural standard of life.

I say this to emphasize that the Soviet Union's striving for peace is determined by the very nature of our social system, by our world outlook and by our morality. Our thoughts are turning back to the experience accumulated during the 1970's, precisely because at that time good political, legal, moral, and psychological foundations for peaceful cooperation between states belonging to different social systems and different military-political alliances were laid. We want to revive the spirit, the atmosphere, and the essence of detente precisely because we intend to advance even farther, towards a dependable system of international law and order and security. A qualitative leap, if you wish, is necessary here.

At the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, the second round of which will open tomorrow, the Soviet Union is prepared to seek mutually acceptable solutions in a businesslike manner. Regrettably, so far we have not sensed an adequate readiness in our partners in the talks. There are ample indications that the United States would like to push through at all costs its plans to develop armaments of a new class, space strike arms. The price for this, however, may be not only the subversion of the Geneva talks, but the scrapping of every prospect for an end to the arms race.

We in the Soviet Union follow a different logic. Space, a common asset of mankind, must not become a scene of military rivalry. If space is not militarized, it will be possible to substantially reduce both strategic nuclear armaments and medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

The question of the latter, naturally, has a special place in our exchanges of opinion.

I want to stress most definitely that we are prepared to travel a long road in that matter. The proposals made by us some time ago are still standing.

If they are put into practice, there will be the lowest possible level of all, zero level, in medium-range missiles in Europe between the USSR and the United States. As for the medium-range missiles we retain in the European zone, we would not have any more than the French and the British have either in the number of missiles or in the number of warheads. We are prepared to eliminate the missiles subject to removal without redeploying them anywhere.

I will also point out that the Soviet Union has long stated: If an agreement on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe is achieved and enters into force, the deployment of SS-20 missiles in the eastern parts of the USSR will also be stopped on the condition that there will be no substantial changes in the strategic situation in the Asian region. We are reiterating this proposal today.

As for Europe, we state over and over again: The USSR would want most of all the complete ridding of that continent of both medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons, that is, weapons intended to hit targets in Europe. The USSR is long prepared for this but the NATO countries prefer to pretend that they do not hear our proposal.

Common sense tells us that in order to turn around the arms race, it is first necessary to halt it. It is to make it easier to go over the arms reductions that the Soviet Union proposed a freeze on the development of space strike arms, on strategic offensive armaments, and on medium-range nuclear systems for the duration of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva. To make a good start, we unilaterally suspended until November the deployment of our medium-range systems in Europe. We are still awaiting from the other side an answer to this start, one that would contribute to accomplishing the task of scaling down nuclear confrontation in Europe.

To sum it all up, I would like to stress that the implementation of the Soviet Union's clear, concrete, and far-reaching proposals would undoubtedly drastically improve the entire situation in Europe and in the whole world. It is our conviction that Italy, along with other states, could contribute a good deal to such a development.

Keeping to the theme of strengthening European security, I want to say that we and Italy seem to have a certain similarity of approach to the proceedings of the Stockholm conference. We favor the early beginning of substantial talks there and the formulation of relevant documents at the conference. Apparently, it is necessary to look more boldly for an accord incorporating major political measures and mutually acceptable and concrete confidence-building measures in military matters.

We think that the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, which will be marked on 1 August this year, should be highlighted by the restoration and expansion of the process of detente. The historical importance of that document, pervaded with the spirit of detente, should be backed with a joint action of the participating states.

Of course, the attempts to erode territorial-political realities in Europe under any pretext should be resolutely blocked. It would be unpardonable thoughtlessness to disregard the fact that it was precisely the postwar setup in Europe that gave the continent 40 years of peace.

I will touch upon one more aspect of European affairs. Europe is a continent on which there are various multilateral organizations. Each of them has accumulated a wealth of experience and is playing a certain role both in the world economy and in international politics. I am referring primarily to CEMA and the EEC. It is time, I think, to establish mutually beneficial relations in economic affairs between them. Insofar as the EEC countries act as a "political entity," we are prepared to seek a common language on concrete international problems with it.

Mr Prime Minister, it is natural that in the course of our conversation today, reviewing the overall international situation, as it were, we could not have helped touching upon seats of acute tension in the world, be it the Mediterranean or Central America. I think that the Soviet Union and Italy here have a certain similarity of approach. These dangerous seats of tension should be removed by political means.

We favor continued efforts to bring positions closer, more energetic assistance to a search for ways to settle regional problems at the negotiating table, and protecting the sovereign rights of states and peoples exposed to pressure and gross intervention in their internal affairs.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Italy have a substantive legal base. During the past decades, the sides have drawn up mechanisms and instruments of cooperation, such as the 1972 protocol on political consultations and a number of bilateral documents on economic, scientific, technical, and cultural exchanges. Perhaps we can learn to use these instruments even more efficiently for the good of both sides and for peace and the security of all the peoples. We are prepared to contribute to such efforts. In this context, we again reiterate our satisfaction with your visit to the Soviet Union and with the intensive exchange of opinions we just had.

I am certain that, basing ourselves on the long-time sentiments of mutual respect and affection between the Soviet and the Italian people, we can yet do by joint efforts a good deal of what is useful to the further development of Soviet-Italian relations.

Allow me, Mr Prime Minister, to wish you, your esteemed wife, Mr Foreign Minister Andreotti, and all the other Italian guests the best of health and well-being.

May Soviet-Italian relations develop and grow stronger for the good of our peoples and the cause of world peace!

Craxi Speaks at Dinner

PM311437 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 85 First Edition p 2

[TASS report on speech delivered by Italian Prime Minister Craxi at 29 May Kremlin dinner in his honor under the general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] B. Craxi's Speech

Mr General Secretary,

I warmly thank you for the friendly reception given to me and my wife and to Foreign Minister Andreotti and the Italian delegation. I thank you for the friendship you have displayed toward my country and the attention to the role which the Italian Government plays in the defense of peace in Europe and the world. I am very pleased to be in Moscow 27 years after my first visit to your great country and I want to tell you that I am undertaking my present visit with particular and lively interest. For me, it is above all an opportunity to confirm personally to the Soviet leadership the feelings of friendship and the desire for sincere and peaceful cooperation that inspire Italy in the sphere of international relations. This desire is also directed toward the people and Government of the Soviet Union with which we want to strengthen accords in various fields of the whole complex of relations in an atmosphere of understanding, mutual advantage, and the utmost mutual respect. I am sure that the progress of relations between Italy and the Soviet Union will also serve in the future the interests of peace, detente, and international stability.

I also admit that I very much wanted to meet with you personally and to discuss with you and the members of the Soviet Government your assessments and impressions on the questions of great importance that so directly affect the supreme interests of mankind. Today's talks were very constructive and interesting in that sense and fully confirmed the importance of our visit and enabled us to note the high degree to which its aims have been achieved.

On the bilateral plane today's talks opened up new paths to give additional impetus to the cooperation agreements. We established that specific opportunities exist for balanced development and in this connection expressed the intention to develop co-operation dynamically on a stable and firm basis.

The complementary nature of our two countries' economies provides very promising opportunities for developing reciprocal exchanges. In Italy we are making efforts to implement industrial and technical modernization so that our production system constantly accords with the demands of the international market. In our activity, we are concerned not only with the requirements of economic development but also with our people's social progress under conditions of political and democratic stability and the constant renewal of society. I noted with great interest that in your recent report at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, you paid a great deal of attention to the attainment of new goals of renewal and economic and social progress.

That is why I think that the coincidence of the avenues of production's quantitative and qualitative development gives our two countries points of contact for expanding the foundations of their cooperation.

It is also desirable that relations of a new, constructive, and frank type be established between the EEC and CEMA creating under terms to be agreed the prerequisites for future possible specific cooperation, thus ensuring positive conditions for dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe.

I am more convinced than ever that the development of economic relations creates a firm basis for efforts aimed at establishing in practice conditions of greater trust and international understanding and the peoples' peaceful progress. The Italian Government long ago set itself the task of promoting the establishment of these conditions with a view to a broader prospect of peace. We have proceeded from this premise, developing contacts and cooperation with many governments of East European countries and seeking to bring the peoples closer together irrespective of existing difference in their political, social, and economic systems.

Peace is a principle and a duty to which there is no alternative. That is the idea I also found clearly expressed in your speech to the Central Committee plenum which I have just mentioned.

I can say with complete confidence that this peaceful goal inspires not only Italy, but also all its allies. We would consider it absurd to resume the arms race at a time when thousands of people are struggling every day for survival; we reject once and for all the principle of military superiority and we oppose turning to military operations as a way of resolving troublesome issues. Peace under conditions of security, peace for all, security for everyone, security at the lowest possible level of forces on the basis of balanced and monitorable agreements remains our goal. We are seeking arms control as the prerequisite and instrument for the gradual and balanced process of universal disarmament in Europe and the world.

We have stated our support for the Soviet-U.S. accord of 7-8 January this year which, in our opinion, is the result of mutual understanding and is a balanced combination of different interests and priorities. This balance should be preserved. The prospects of the talks that began as a result of this accord should be an incentive to the intensification of the relevant positions and consequently an undertaking to continue, with a sense of responsibility and in a spirit of frankness, the talks in all three fields, making efforts to resolve specific problems stemming from the principle of interconnection agreed in Geneva, with the prime goal being to not violate the letter and spirit of the ABM Treaty while conducting talks on any new element proposed and preserving the strategic correlation bases on the approximate parity of forces.

It is always easier to destroy than to reach agreement and easier to conduct polemics than to try to find points of contact. Talks are always difficult. Nonetheless, another failure at the talks would create a situation incomparably more complex.

In 1985 important anniversaries occur: the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, a tragedy which we must never forget, and of the creation of the United Nations and also the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act.

I believe that significant joint efforts to set up a more reliable, more stable, and less jeopardized peace would be the best way of celebrating these important dates. For that it is important that the Geneva talks should develop positively; similarly we believe it is important to ensure the continuity of the CSCE process in all its components, including human rights, for the improvement of dialogue in Europe and the consolidation of trust in international relations. Similarly common efforts can be aimed at easing international tension in the search for political solution to the crisis situations existing in various geographical regions.

Among these regions I want to dwell in particular on the Near East on which -- and not by virtue of its geographical proximity alone -- the anxious attention of Italy and all EC countries is riveted.

Lebanon in flames will have no future unless it finds the path of national conciliation. We know that the Soviet Government also shares that opinion.

B. Craxi then touched on the problem of a Near East settlement.

Both in the Near East and in other crisis situations, he said, political solutions must be sought through international negotiations, without outside interference, with full respect for the political independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of states and the peoples' basic rights. These are the prerequisites to which we must pay increasing attention to build a future in which progress and peace will always prevail over any other factor of danger, instability, and crisis.

With a view to the same end, the method of political consultations we employ positively between our countries deserves to be further developed at its various levels.

It is with these sentiments, expressing thanks once more for the reception given to us, that I wish health to all those present.

CSO: 5200/1225

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

USSR: WORLD WAR II LESSONS RELEVANT TO SUCCESS OF TALKS

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 19, May 85 pp 11-15

[Article by Prof Lev Tolkunov, D.Sc. (Hist.)]

[Text] One of Geneva's numerous cafes attracts visitors with a display of pencil cartoons of delegates to the League of Nations, which was based in the city between the wars. It includes a portrait of the Soviet representative. A visit to this popular cafe brings back memories of one of the tensest and most dramatic stretches in 20th-century history that was the prelude to World War II.

Opportunities Missed

The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations when the sinister shadow of German fascism fell over Europe. Once again peace on the continent was threatened. Any delay would have been unpardonable. It was necessary to act. And so, at the League of Nations the Soviet Union launched a vigorous campaign for collective security. It advocated the creation of a security system in Europe that would ensure mutual aid, and a collective rebuff to any aggressor. It was a question of introducing democratic norms into the practice of international relations and of assuring their observance in order to jointly curb the fascist thugs.

We made our appeal to states most of which entertained no friendly feelings, to put it mildly, towards the world's first socialist country. And yet it was to them that the Soviet Union appealed, calling them to unite against the mounting fascist threat. In so doing, it was guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence. For it was convinced that the differences in the social systems and ideologies need not hinder joint efforts to preserve the supreme value--peace. Also, the Soviet Union was aware that the anti-communist camp was not monolithic. In Germany, the most rabid and bellicose forces of that camp had brought to power nazism, a reactionary and aggressive ideology that was transmitted into concrete political conceptions of world domination, enslavement and extermination of entire nations. Hitler was preparing not only to gain "living space" in the East, but also to defeat the Western countries. Objectively, therefore, there existed the real prerequisites for a collective rebuff to the common enemy--fascism. And if the opportunities were not seized it was not through the fault of the Soviet Union.

The reactionary circles in Britain, France and the United States tried to come to terms with Hitler at our expense, and to direct German aggression against the USSR. The plan was simple: to use the Wehrmacht divisions to crush socialism and, in the process, to bleed the German rival white. Before long the Western policy of "appeasing" the aggressor was seen to be shortsighted and untenable. The first victims of his brigandage were capitalist countries. "Germany will settle accounts with its eternal enemy, France, once and for all," declared Hitler. "That country will be erased from the map of Europe. England is an old and feeble country ... when France is defeated, Germany will easily establish its dominance over England and will then have the wealth and possessions of England all over the world at its disposal." France, indeed, was soon overrun by the Wehrmacht's tanks. It was now England's turn. The preparation of Operation Seelowe (the invasion of Britain) went ahead at full speed. The apparatus for the occupation and repression of that country was set up. It envisaged mass arrests and executions. Some of those to be killed were prominent political leaders. The punitive functions were to be performed by the SS Totenkopf division.

The Hitlerites established a "new order"--a regime of arbitrary violence and terror--in the countries they seized. More than 20 states were ravaged by nazi occupation, which destroyed the fruits of centuries of human effort and caused the death of millions of people. Of the 18 million Europeans put into nazi concentration camps, more than 11 million died. The nazis were particularly ruthless towards the Soviet people. Under the Ost Plan, at least 30 to 40 million Soviet citizens were to be exterminated, huge numbers of people were to be forcibly resettled in wild areas of Siberia, and those who remained in the occupied areas were to be made slaves.

Hitler's plans of aggression were not restricted to Europe. He intended to seize large parts of Africa and the Middle East. He planned to gain a foothold on the American continent, and, subsequently, in alliance with the Japanese militarists, to conquer the United States.

From Yalta to San Francisco

The Soviet Union proved to be the only country capable of saving the world from the brown plague and willing to do so. It made the decisive contribution to the defeat of Hitler Germany and militarist Japan. What the USSR advocated in the mid-1930's--alliance of anti-fascist forces and unity of states with different social systems for the sake of saving world civilization--did not become a reality until the early 1940's. Alas, the delay had proved fatal and war was already raging throughout the world.

During the war the difference in their social systems did not prevent the United States, Britain, and the USSR from uniting in an anti-fascist coalition to act against the common enemy. Such differences are never an obstacle if there is good will on both sides. They are not an obstacle in the way of honest cooperation, because the principles of peaceful coexistence between states do not affect the socioeconomic foundations of nations.

The Soviet Union acted as a faithful and reliable ally. It bore the brunt of the struggle against the fascist monster. Loyal to its allied duty, the USSR entered the war against militarist Japan. The Allies estimated that the invasion of the Japanese islands would cost them one million dead, and that the war in the Far East could last until 1947. But the Soviet troops defeated the more than million-strong Kwantung Army, the main striking force of Japanese militarism, within days, and on 2 September 1945, Japan capitulated.

The effectiveness of the Soviet Union's military efforts was matched by its contribution to creating a model of peaceful cooperation between opposite social systems and to the postwar peace settlement. This was highlighted at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences.

The Yalta Conference adopted historic decisions concerning the victorious conclusion of the war and the postwar settlement. It demonstrated that it was quite possible for states with different social systems to cooperate militarily and politically and to achieve mutually acceptable agreements. Its participants considered convening a conference of United Nations in San Francisco to create an international organization "for the maintenance of international peace and security." They agreed on the voting procedure in the Security Council, including the right of veto for the permanent council members. In spite of all the difficulties, the United Nations had for four decades been playing its role as an important instrument of peaceful cooperation between states with different systems.

One of the most notable resolutions made in Yalta was the document "Unity for Peace as for War," which in effect proclaimed peaceful coexistence as the basis of future international relations. The Allies reaffirmed their common determination to preserve and strengthen in the forthcoming peaceful period the unity of purpose and action that had made victory in the war possible. "We believe," they declared, "that this is a sacred obligation which our governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world. Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized--a secure and lasting peace."

Relations between the Allies were not, of course, unclouded. Serious differences did exist. Even so, the next conference--in Potsdam--continued and developed the Yalta line. The result was a full-scale programme for a post-war democratic settlement in Europe.

The Yalta and Potsdam agreements provided a good basis for a durable peace. The decisions they adopted accorded with the aspirations of the anti-Hitler coalition and with the principles of peaceful coexistence. They marked the triumph of democratic principles in the approach to the German problem, and set an example of international commitments taken in the interests of all peace-loving peoples. They were democratic and constructive and represented a reliable basis for continued peacetime cooperation among the Allies in the interests of settling postwar problems. In content they were projected into the future.

What the United States Was Up To

It seemed that state leaders had drawn certain conclusions from the experience of World War II that showed the need to prevent the emergence of situations that could lead to new clashes, and to maintain stable peace by common efforts. Before long, however, the U.S. ruling circles, relying on their nuclear monopoly, tried to dictate their will to other countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

An attentive study of American and other Western publications connected with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the summer of 1945 suggests that few people considered it to be militarily necessary. Its aim was to scare the Soviet Union with the new mass destruction weapon. American journalist Robert Donovan records in his memoirs that, after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, U.S. President Truman exulted, calling it the greatest thing in history and claiming that the investment of \$2 billion had paid off since the world balance had changed radically.

The United States had greatly strengthened its economy during the war. Protected, as it were, from the woes of the rest of the world by two oceans, it felt secure and therefore capable of striking at any state. In this context, various doctrines were born in Washington that were in fact aimed at starting a third world war. Plans for nuclear strikes at the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1940's and 1950's have come to light. However, the temporary monopoly of atomic weapons and the policy of diktat it supported proved ineffective. This was a period that saw the final shaping of the socialist world system, the collapse of imperialism's colonial system and the emergence of dozens of independent states on its ruins.

The 1950's and 1960's were the period of the cold war. American imperialism unleashed an arms race, and was stoking up international tension and kindling conflicts and local wars in various parts of the world. The NATO military bloc was set up and the United States started using it as an instrument of its policy in Europe. The socialist countries had to counter that by forming, in May 1955, the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This started the confrontation in Europe of two major military groupings.

Brinkmanship became, to all intents and purposes, the official policy of the United States.

Aware that the aggressive imperialist circles were clearly intent on unleashing a nuclear conflict, the Soviet Union pursued a dual policy. First, it came up with major initiatives to curb the arms race as a basis for a new climate in international relations. At the same time, with the experience of World War II behind it, it did everything it could to strengthen its defences and to protect its allies. By the mid-1970's, the USSR and the United States had achieved a military-strategic parity, a balance of the main components of the nuclear-missile armories. The aggressive circles in the United States were no longer confident that they could win a war.

The United States pursued a policy of open confrontation with the USSR and, simultaneously, attempted to fragment the socialist community and change the world balance of forces in its own favour.

It sought complete control of the policy of its allies, up to and including open diktat. The myth of a "Soviet military threat" was used as a lever, the underlying aim being to put the economic and military resources of all the Western countries at the service of American imperialism and to launch a global attack on the positions of the socialist world.

In relations with the developing countries, the United States opted for pressure tactics, interference in their affairs by the use or threat of armed force, and open support for reactionary regimes. The ultimate aim of that policy was to isolate the developing countries from the Soviet Union, deprive them of socialist support and create American bridgeheads in the former colonies.

Negotiations the Only Right Way

By the early 1970's the U.S. policy began to misfire badly. It was in effect failing on a global scale. This prompted the U.S. Administration to make some adjustments in its foreign policy, most notably by engaging in a dialogue with the Soviet Union and signing a series of agreements that would reduce the level of tension and pave the way towards a gradual normalization of relations.

In 1972-1974, the Republican Administration signed a number of fundamental agreements with the Soviet Union. These included, first and foremost, the Basic Principles of Relations Between the Two Countries, which states that they "will proceed from the common determination that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful co-existence. Differences in ideology and in the social systems of the USSR and the United States are not obstacles to the bilateral development of normal relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage."

The document noted that the United States and the Soviet Union would always practice restraint in their mutual relations, would conduct negotiations and settle differences by peaceful means. Exchanges of opinions and negotiations on unsettled questions, it said, would be pursued in the spirit of a mutual regard for each other's positions and mutual benefit. The documents stressed that attempts to gain unilateral advantages, directly or indirectly, at the expense of the other side were incompatible with these goals. Recognition of the security interests of the two sides based on the principle of equality, and the renunciation of the use or threat of force, were essential prerequisites for the maintenance and strengthening of peaceful relations between them. The Basic Principles created the international legal prerequisites needed for the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States in all areas of mutual interest to be built on a solid long-term basis, without any detriment to either side.

The same period saw the signing of a Soviet-American ABM systems limitation agreement and an agreement on the prevention of nuclear war,

The Soviet leadership stressed that the results of the talks were another proof that disputed international issues in the present conditions could not be solved from positions of strength, but could and had to be settled through negotiation, with observance of the principle of equality and equal security of the two sides, mutual respect of interests, universal acceptance of the principles of coexistence in relations between states, whether large or small, and whatever their social systems.

Soviet-American relations at that time began to develop normally. They contributed to a general improvement in the international situation, and to the process of detente, which was initiated in Europe by the signing of the Moscow Treaty between the USSR and West Germany in 1970.

The situation changed dramatically in the latter half of the 1970's and, especially in the 1980's, when the Reagan Administration took office. Again emphasis was placed on military superiority, again the language of threats was used, a psychological war was launched and a crusade declared against socialism.

Aware of the consequences of a policy of confrontation, the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) appealed to the parliaments and peoples of the world on 23 June 1981, the 40th anniversary of Hitler's attack on the USSR.

"The Supreme Soviet of the USSR," the appeal read, "solemnly declares: the Soviet Union does not threaten anyone, does not seek confrontation with any state in the West or the East. The Soviet Union has not pressed and is not pressing for military superiority. It has not been, and will not be, the initiator of new rounds of the arms race. There is no type of weapons it would not agree to limit, to ban on a mutual basis, by agreement with other states."

Securing peace has been and remains the supreme goal of the Soviet state's foreign policy. The Supreme Soviet was referring to the Peace Programme for the 1980's, adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress. Envisaging steps to cut both nuclear-missile and conventional weapons and containing proposals on how to settle existing conflicts and crises and prevent new ones, the programme was permeated with a desire to deepen detente and promote peaceful cooperation among countries on all continents. It reflected the Soviet Union's readiness to negotiate on all outstanding issues of peace and security and to treat with due attention any constructive ideas of other states.

In this nuclear age, stressed the Supreme Soviet, dialogue and negotiations are equally necessary for all, just as peace, security and confidence in the future are necessary for all. Negotiations are the only sensible method of settling disputed problems, no matter how acute and complicated these problems may be. Not a single opportunity should be missed. Time is pressing.

Time indeed is pressing. With every day lost for negotiation, the risk of a nuclear conflict is increasing. The solution of outstanding problems facing individual nations and the whole mankind is being delayed. Those who, by their actions, encourage the arms race and the stockpiling of weapons of mass

destruction in the world, advocate the use of force in solving disputes between states, or simply shut their eyes to the dangers in store for the world today are actually pushing mankind towards the brink of the abyss.

Our country is consistently and steadfastly working to avert the threat of war. In the greatly aggravated international situation the Soviet Union is sticking to its belief that there are no weapons that could not be outlawed on a reciprocal basis. Equally, it believes that, in general, there are no international problems that cannot be resolved through honest negotiations. But if these principles are to be realized, it is high time Washington stopped inventing ever new variants of unleashing nuclear war in the hope of winning it. We object strongly to the spread of ideological contradictions into the sphere of international relations.

Our party has repeatedly stressed that there is no fatal inevitability of a nuclear world war, in this age of nuclear weapons and superaccurate missiles people need peace more than ever before. Our planet has become too vulnerable, and every person, let alone every political leader, must take account of this.

Peace is our ideal. The road to that ideal is arduous. It involves, first and foremost, the need to put Soviet-American relations on an even keel. In his recent talks with the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union did not believe that the present Soviet-U.S. tensions were caused by some fateful clash of the national interests of the two countries. On the contrary, our peoples stand to gain much from a development of broad and fruitful cooperation. This apart from the fact that they share the dominant common interest of ensuring the security and preserving the lives of our peoples. The differences between the social systems and ideologies of our countries are not grounds for curtailing relations, let alone for the fomenting of hostility.

What is really needed to improve relations between the USSR and the United States, stressed Mikhail Gorbachev, is political will. The Soviet Union has such will. If the same will is displayed by the American side, many concrete issues now dividing our countries can gradually be moved towards solution.

It is extremely dangerous to delay, let alone impede, the solution of these issues. Ungovernable processes may be set in motion unless the arms race is curbed now. To be sure, serious moves towards better international relations would contribute to a curbing of the arms race and would, in turn, create the conditions needed for a return to detente.

Today, when mankind is threatened with self-destruction, state leaders must exhibit the greatest sense of responsibility--a historical responsibility for the destinies, not only of the present, but also of future generations.

Security for All

The Soviet Union has drafted large-scale and far-reaching proposals and initiatives aimed at preventing the nuclear destruction of mankind. It has unilaterally committed itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and the Warsaw Treaty countries have proposed concluding an agreement with NATO on the mutual

renunciation of the first use of nuclear and conventional weapons. The Soviet Union welcomed and fully backed the appeal of the leaders of six states from different continents to freeze nuclear armament. It has proposed that the nuclear powers should be guided in their relations with each other by certain agreed norms of behaviour in the interests of preventing a nuclear war. The April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee declared: "We favour even, correct--if you like, civilized--relations between states, based on genuine respect for the norms of international law." The Soviet Union is not going to try to keep up with the United States on every new weapons system and to copy it. But that does not mean that we will not find an effective answer to Washington. We are ready for any turn of events. And Washington knows that perfectly well. No aggressive actions will take us by surprise.

Under the cover of talk about U.S. readiness to actively work for peace Washington is preparing for a nuclear attack. The whole arsenal of strategic weapons is being improved, which, the Pentagon hopes, will upset the military equilibrium and give the United States the edge. Geared to this same goal is the "star wars" programme, which is in effect aimed at enabling the United States to deliver nuclear strikes with impunity whenever and wherever it wishes. Only naive people could believe that the United States is engaged in some innocuous scientific research which consumes tens of billions of dollars.

In these conditions the new talks in Geneva have an exceedingly important role to play. Their aim, as proclaimed in the Soviet-American statement, is to work out effective agreements to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space and end it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear weapons and strengthen strategic stability. Eventually, the two sides believe, the negotiations, like all arms control efforts, should lead to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere.

The solution of all these important issues depends on whether the two sides adhere to the agreement on the subject and aims of the talks in all respects. The key to the solving of the extremely complex problems is good will, readiness for sensible compromise, and strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security.

In his recent interview with the editor of PRAVDA, Mikhail Gorbachev proposed that the USSR and the United States should introduce, for the entire period of the talks, a moratorium on the development (including research), testing and deployment of space strike weapons and freeze their strategic offensive arms. He declared that the Soviet Union had introduced a moratorium, effective till November, on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and was suspending other countermeasures in Europe.

Peaceful coexistence is the only alternative to nuclear war. If states with different social systems were able to unite against those who, during the war, with the help of tanks, bombers and SS thugs tried to impose a "new world order" by exterminating entire nations, can the same states not act jointly against the threat of mankind's death in a nuclear holocaust? Our planet is too small and too fragile to withstand such an upheaval. "Mankind today possesses a huge

potential for peace, and has the comprehensive experience and sufficient historical and social awareness to understand where the policy of aggression could lead," declare the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

Peace is indivisible, and security in the nuclear age cannot be based on force or the threat of force. It can only be security for all. That is why the broad masses in all countries--capitalist and socialist alike--oppose the arms race. The peoples of developing countries, too, are against the arms race. Past experience has shown that detente is necessary and beneficial to all nations. This experience, like the experience of wartime cooperation, testifies to the inexhaustible potential for peaceful coexistence. The two opposite systems can compete in the economic, scientific and technical fields. That is a realistic and useful thing. Such competition should force into the background and eventually eliminate the mad race in the creation and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction.

The forces of mankind are inexhaustible. And so is mankind's reason. Given the collective will for peace, a reliable barrier can be erected in the way of the nuclear threat. And then people will breathe freely, and mothers will be confident of their children's future. But there is no time to lose.

CSO: 5200/1220

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

TASS REPORTS ON GROUP SESSIONS 31 MAY-6 JUNE

Strategic Arms Group 31 May

LD311218 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Geneva May 31 TASS--A meeting of the group on strategic arms was held here today at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

Space Arms Group 4 June

LD041143 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 4 Jun 85

[Text] Geneva June 4 TASS--A meeting of the group on space arms was held here today within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms.

Strategic Arms Group 5 June

LD051318 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 5 Jun 85

[Text] Geneva June 5 TASS--A meeting of the group on strategic arms was held here today within the framework of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons.

INF Session 6 June

LD061142 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Text] Geneva June 6 TASS--The group concerned with medium-range nuclear weapons met here today within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons.

CSO: 5200/1187

U.S.-USSR GENEVA TALKS

FRG'S BRANDT DISCUSSES ARMS ISSUES WITH SOVIET LEADERS IN MOSCOW

Pessimistic on Geneva Talks

LD250920 Hamburg DPA in German 0750 GMT 25 May 85

[Text] Stuttgart, 25 May (DPA) -- SPD Chairman Willy Brandt fears that the two superpowers could continue to negotiate unsuccessfully for years in Geneva. Today, the day before his departure for Moscow, Brandt said in an interview with South German Radio in Stuttgart that he wants to find out in his talks with party leader Mikhail Gorbachev what can realistically be proposed for a new round in West-East policy.

Brandt sees two causes for the sluggish course of the Geneva arms control negotiations. As far as the U.S. is concerned, his impression is that the President's advisers are saying that the United States can achieve a strategic advantage because the Soviets cannot keep up economically and financially. In his view, the Soviet Union might wish for one thing to provide proof that they really can keep up the pace. Another point is that Moscow might be considering whether they might sit out the U.S. President's term of office. In the opinion of the SPD leader, this would mean for Europe that the Geneva talks would babble on until 1989.

In view of this situation, Brandt regards it as advantageous for Reagan and Gorbachev to meet this year, even if they can only convey to the world the joint conviction that a third world war will not take place. However, it does not look at the moment as though the two superpowers are very near to an agreement on such a meeting this year.

The interview was released to DPA in edited form.

Meets With Gorbachev

PM280913 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 85 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Willy Brandt"]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 May--Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on 27 May received in the Kremlin Willy Brandt, chairman of Social Democratic Party of Germany and chairman of the Socialist International.

The sides discussed in detail a range of questions of the present-day international situation in the world and in Europe. They noted that considerable progress had been achieved thanks to great efforts and honest will for mutual understanding during the 1970's in developing and improving relations between different states and between East and West in general. Detente, good-neighbornliness, and cooperation became symbols of that decade.

It was confirmed in this way that states with different social systems can effectively resolve any problems, even most complex ones, if they are guided by the desire to achieve universal peace and security and to remove obstacles hampering mutual understanding between countries and peoples.

The international situation existing today and East-West relations are considered by Mikhail Gorbachev and Willy Brandt to be abnormal, unnatural, and dangerous. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that the Soviet Union's numerous proposals to contain and end the arms race evoke no proper response primarily from the present day U.S. Administration.

In the course of the first round of the Geneva talks, the U.S. Administration did not display readiness to work for accords on the basis of the announced goals of the talks and demonstrated its unwillingness to advance towards mutually acceptable and monitorable [kontroliruyemye] accords on the non-militarization of space and on the termination of the race in nuclear missiles and other armaments on earth.

Willy Brandt confirmed the negative attitude of his party in principle to the militarization of space in any form. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany were fully in accord that space should remain forever an area of peaceful cooperation.

Both sides spoke in favor of the further development of normal, good-neighbory relations between the USSR and West Germany through reliance on the positive experience accumulated since the signing of the Moscow Treaty, the 15th anniversary of which will be marked next August. The USSR and West Germany can be partners also in matters of security despite all that divides them because of their affiliation with different alliances.

Both parties stressed the role of Europe which, proceeding from its historical experience, could make its own contribution to the cause of stabilizing peace worldwide. In that process, positive results of East-West detente should be preserved and multiplied in linkage with long-term prospects for economic cooperation.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Willy Brandt believe that relations between the CPSU and the Social Democratic Party of Germany and between the CPSU and the Socialist International, despite commonly known differences between the ideological positions of the two sides,

have been developing in the recent period in a constructive spirit in the interests of peace. Proceeding from this fact, they consider it useful to carry on and develop these relations and to enrich them with new concrete contents, first and foremost to maintain contacts on questions relevant to peace and the security of the peoples.

Other participants in the conversation were, on the Soviet side, Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR minister of foreign affairs; Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Anatoliy Aleksandrov and Vadim Zagladin, members of the CPSU Central Committee; on the West German side, Egon Bahr and Hans Koschnick, members of the Presidium of the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany; Bjoern Engholm, a member of the Board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany; and Dietrich Stobbe, a member of the Social Democratic faction in the Bundestag.

Leaders Attend Luncheon

LD271503 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 May 85

[Text] A luncheon was given in the Kremlin today in honor of Willy Brandt, chairman of the German SPD [Social Democratic Party] and chairman of the Socialist International. Together with Brandt at the luncheon were the prominent figures of the German SPD accompanying him on his trip and Kastl, FRG ambassador to the USSR. On the Soviet side were Comrades Gorbachev, Gromyko, and Ponomarev; CPSU Central Committee members Aleksandrov and Zagladin; and other officials. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a speech at the luncheon. A reply speech was delivered by Willy Brandt. The speeches by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Willy Brandt were listened to very attentively and greeted with applause. The luncheon took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Gorbachev Speech

LD271351 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1440 GMT 27 May 85

["Text" of Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at a luncheon in honor of Willy Brandt in the Kremlin on 27 May -- read by announcer]

[Text] Allow me to cordially greet Willy Brandt, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and chairman of the Socialist International.

We have just had a detailed conversation and I think that we can say honestly that our task was instructive and useful and helped us better to understand each other's positions.

Our people have a simple but wise saying: As you sow, so shall you reap. You, Mr Brandt, in the recent past reaped good seed in the field of relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG in the field of European cooperation. The signing of the historical Moscow Treaty in August 1970 is inseparably associated with your name. That treaty ushered in a period of new, constructive and truly good-neighbourly relations between our two countries and peoples. At the same time, it paved the way to productive cooperation in a broader context between European capitalist and socialist countries, or as we say, between East and West."

Regrettably detente, the main achievement of those years, though it continues to a considerable extent to bear fruit for the peoples of our continent, has been exposed to fierce attacks of the conservative and reactionary forces. The word itself has been outlawed, as it were, by a number of Western statesmen from their political vocabulary.

Discussing the international situation today, we both stated that there was a good deal in it to deeply worry all those who care for world peace and value the ideals of progress.

Indeed, the threat of war has grown and become more acute during the years of confrontation. The world has approached a very dangerous point. The arms race is being carried on and has reached unprecedented proportions. Moreover, those same forces that provoked it are now avidly making threatening gestures toward space.

There are no people in the world who are not worried by the U.S. plans to militarize space. This worry is well grounded. Let us take a realistic view of matters: The implementation of these plans would thwart disarmament talks.

Moreover, it would dramatically increase the threat of a truly global, all-destroying military conflict. Anyone capable of an unbiased analysis of the situation and sincerely wishing to safeguard peace cannot help opposing "star wars."

Space will always attract man, of course. Space exploration, as we have learned in practice, can do a good deal for the development and improvement of our life on earth. It would be good, of course, if states could join their efforts in some form and organize cooperation, not to make space a source of death and destruction but to explore it for peaceful purposes, in the interests of all the peoples and in accordance with their peaceful requirements. The USSR stands for such cooperation.

We have a firm political will for peace, for averting war, and for reducing armaments to the point of the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. It is a will for detente and for establishing normal relations of good-neighborliness and mutual cooperation with all countries regardless of their social systems. We translate this will of ours, as you well know, into constructive initiatives and clear-cut proposals that leave no room for controversial interpretation. It is in this spirit that we are acting at all the talks under way in Geneva, Stockholm and Vienna.

I want to note with satisfaction, Mr Chairman, that your party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, plays a prominent role in the struggle for resolving questions of war and peace. This is evidenced by the positions, presented in the documents of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and in your statements, against the "star wars" plans and in favor of containing the arms race, reducing weapons, primarily nuclear weapons, concluding a treaty on the mutual non-use of force between countries of East and West, and stepping outside intervention in the affairs of sovereign countries and peoples and ending armed conflicts and aggressive ventures in different parts of the world. These views, at which your party and you have arrived by your own ways, following your political convictions, are in many ways consonant with our ideas of the present-day world and the tasks of making it better.

Recently we all fittingly marked the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler fascism. That anniversary again reminded us most forcefully of the importance of resolving without delay the most acute questions of ensuring security for the peoples of our continent today. What makes this task even more urgent is the fact that there are in the world, including in West Germany, forces that have not learned the lesson of the past war. They hold forth openly and unashamedly on turning Europe into a threater of operations.

We highly appreciate the firm position of your party, which stands for preventing another war from emanating from Germany soil. The Soviet Union, as you know, is for its part doing everything possible really to strengthen European security.

We believe that a dependable way to this goal is offered by completely ridding our continent of nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones, and also of chemical weapons. We are fully prepared to resolve the problem in this manner.

Progress to large-scale measures can also be made step by step. Various options for this progress have already been proposed. What I have in mind is, for instance, the ideas to establish nuclear weapon-free zones in different parts of Europe and the proposal of Swedish Prime Minister Palme to establish in Europe a zone free from nuclear battlefield weapons.

The Soviet Union has already voiced support for the creation of such zones and we have not revised our view. We similarly share and energetically support the idea of your party on the establishment in Europe of a zone free from chemical weapons.

We know well, Mr Brandt, with what attention you approach the problems of relationship between developed and developing states. You have our profound understanding here. Human conscience cannot tolerate the fact that tens of millions of people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America die from hunger and disease or live illiterate and impoverished. The normal development of newly free countries, the overcoming of backwardness inherited from their colonial past, and the establishment of truly equal relations between them and the industrialized capitalist countries are important preconditions for the normalization of international relations as a whole.

The time seems to be coming when the questions of establishing equal international economic relations without any discrimination and a new international economic order, including the problem of the developing countries' indebtedness, will have to be discussed internationally on a large scale. We stand for such a discussion. The world community has good reason to display care for continued economic security of states and peoples.

Obviously, Mr Brandt, our views of many present-day problems are close and even identical in many respects. I think that we agree on identical ideas and proposals because we are aware of the gravity of the danger faced by mankind and because our parties sense the mood of the mass of people, who want a lasting peace and are strongly opposed to policies escalating the threat of nuclear war.

Of course, we have had and will continue to have ideological differences, but they should not interfere with the cooperation of the Communists and the Social Democrats on the most important and acute problems of our day.

Let me raise a toast to the successful development of constructive cooperation between our parties, between the CPSU and the Socialist International, in the name of safeguarding peace and security for the peoples.

I wish you, Mr Brandt, your wife and the notable Social Democrat leaders who accompany you the best of health and well-being.

Brandt Speech

PM300751 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 May 85 First Edition p 2

[TASS report on Brandt reply speech on 27 May Kremlin luncheon under the general heading "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] W. Brandt's Speech

Mr General Secretary, dear friends, esteemed company!

You will understand if I recall my first visit to Moscow in August 1970 and my last visit, before this one, in early summer 1981, and also how difficult the beginning was, and what a constructive course our talks have taken during all these years.

Recalling the 15th anniversary of the Moscow Treaty, I experience a feeling of satisfaction. This treaty has proved beneficial in many respects; not least, it has made it possible to resolve certain questions of a humanitarian nature which had previously seemed insoluble; it has harmed no one, including our neighbors. Despite all the difficulties of world politics, it has proved itself a factor of stability and cooperation that guarantees peace. Even people who once opposed it have stopped calling it into question. It is functioning regardless of certain changes in respect of personalities. Speaking honestly, I will add that the treaty's potential could be utilized to much better effect. This should be formulated today as a possibility and a task for the future.

In general, Mr General Secretary, during our talks, which were fruitful and, in the best sense of the word, frank, I have formed the impression that frankness and a constructive approach to problems can become a tradition. I will not hide my satisfaction at this. May it open broad prospects in the interests of Europe. I would be pleased if the government of my country also saw and understood the opportunities for mutual benefit this holds.

The role of a medium-sized nonnuclear power cannot be compared with the role of a world power. The Soviet Union's responsibility is incomparably greater than that of the FRG. However, but every state, irrespective of the weight it carries, must bear its share of responsibility for everything. The highest responsibility is the responsibility for peace.

I think we understood each other when, despite differences in other spheres, we became aware that we are allies in this struggle to preserve life; or, to express it in the language of diplomats, in questions of security we are partners, although each one of us knows his place within the framework of his alliance and we bear different responsibilities within our different alliances.

I would like to emphasize here that during the entire period of the SPD's [Social Democratic Party of Germany] government activity covered by my reminiscences, the Soviet Union never tried to challenge our loyalty to our alliance or to use us against the United States. There is also simple justification for not letting our different stances on the question of social systems and political structures hinder us in our new undertaking to make detente irreversible.

Last time around, detente meant that political relations were improved and various forms of practical cooperation were elaborated. Arms policy, and correspondingly, security policy, developed in the opposite direction. It depends largely on the world powers whether it proves possible to find a common denominator for cooperation and for curbing the arms race.

The world would sigh with relief if the key responsible figures of the world powers declared after a serious discussion: "We are in complete agreement that a third world war must be prevented and we want all further armament to stop while our delegations hold talks."

When I refer to a new policy in East-West relations, I have in mind a perspective on the basis of which states will elevate their scientific, economic, and ecological cooperation to a qualitatively new level on an all-European rather than a bilateral plane. This must be done in such a way as to exert a strengthening influence on peace to the extent to which this cooperation is intensive and interwoven.

In addition to the global aspects of security, there are also European interests; and here I speak as a person from central Europe where there is the highest density of means of destruction, and consequently, the greatest objective threat that has ever existed in history. Finding ourselves in this very central position, we are aware that any conflict can wipe out states and peoples on both sides. It is by virtue of our central position that we know we must support partnership for the sake of collective security. It is by virtue of our central position that we desire a reduction in the enormous military potentials creating the threat. Such a reduction, coupled with economic collaboration, could open up prospects for Europe.

Here, naturally, the general secretary in Moscow can do more than the chairman of one of the parties in Bonn. However, you may rest assured that the German Social Democrats, together with the parties more closely allied with them, will do everything possible within the sphere of their influence and in their part of the world. I would be gratified if our talks contributed to the emergence of such a prospect for Europe.

I not only share the doubts of many scientists about the feasibility of the strategic utilization of outer space, I also regard it as a mistake to take this course, which creates additional threats and ties up the minds as well as the resources we so urgently need to deal with the enormous tasks here on earth. What we need is by no means a greater quantity and "better" quality of lethal weapons, but rather a better policy. Clumsy actions on earth cannot be compensated for by a flight into space; this would lead to a further deterioration of the situation. Bearing in mind what has been said, I welcome what you said in your speech on the subject of peaceful cooperation in the conquest of space.

Quite understandably, from the viewpoint of European interests, medium- and short-range weapons systems should continue to be regarded as important. And should the great powers reach agreement on what especially concerns them in their bilateral relations, care must be taken to preclude the emergence of any new intermediate zone.

Can human reason and sense prevail at the negotiating table? The holding of talks on arms reduction while in practice more and more weapons are produced cannot be regarded as reasonable. The peoples must not accept this. The initiative of the six heads of government from four continents deserves support, all the more so since it is aimed precisely at a halt or a moratorium in order to gain time for politics. In the same vein,

I would like to express solidarity with those people who speak of the necessity to utilize part of the funds spent on excessive armament throughout the world to combat hunger and poverty. What you said in your speech on this subject gives grounds for hope that the idea of the interconnection between disarmament and development will henceforth be discussed more actively than up to now.

The emotional weeks now behind us, when many peoples, not least in the Soviet Union, recalled the day of their victory over Hitlerite Germany, have shown that in my country, too, the times of yesterday's men will never come back. We are grateful that our peaceful dialogue in Nuremberg, in which the cities of Volgograd, Leningrad, Coventry, Oradour, Lidice, Rotterdam, Dresden, and Cologne also took part, demonstrated part of that strength which, regardless of frontiers, can grow out of an honest attitude to the past and common experience.

Federal President von Weizsaecker spoke on behalf of the overwhelming majority of our young compatriots when he addressed the Bundestag 8 May. Here in Moscow, addressing us all, regardless of systems, alliances, and borders, I repeat the plea which he addressed to young people: "Let us live with each other, rather than against each other."

Willy Brandt proposed a toast to the health of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to cooperation between our two countries, and to partnership for the sake of peace.

Discussions to Continue

LD281451 Hamburg DPA in German 1411 GMT 28 May 85

[Excerpt] Moscow, 28 May (DPA) -- The SPD wants to continue its talks with top Soviet leaders in September in Bonn regarding the diversion of arms expenditure into development aid for the Third World. SPD Chairman Willy Brandt reached agreement on Tuesday in Moscow with Boris Ponomarev, Politburo candidate and chief of the CPSU Central Committee international relations department. On the 2d day of his Moscow visit, Brandt had conferred with Ponomarev on international matters and disarmament policy.

SPD Executive Spokesman Wolfgang Clement subsequently told the press that both sides were interested "in principle" in a concept to divert at least a part of arms expenditure into development aid. The talks on this will be continued by working groups led on the Soviet side by Ponomarev and on the FRG side by SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr. Clement added that in his talk with Ponomarev, Brandt had stressed the significance of the negotiations between the SPD and the SED with regard to the establishment of a zone free from chemical weapons on both sides of the frontier.

The SPD chairman had conferred on Monday with Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev for more than 5 hours. The duration of his talks with the leader of the Soviet Union has been heavily stressed by the Soviet side as well as by Western observers. The Soviet media ascribe unusually great importance to the SPD's leader's visit. State television reported on the talks between Brandt and the Soviet leadership for approximately 20 minutes as its first item.

TASS Reports Press Conference

LD291626 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 29 TASS-- Conversations we had in Moscow were characterized by realism and realization of the responsibility for safeguarding peace on earth, said Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) [SPD] of Germany. The SDP leader, who is on a visit to Moscow, gave a press conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen at the Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR today. Willy Brandt noted that during meetings with Soviet leaders a broad range of international, European and bilateral problems was discussed. Touching on the international situation the SDP chairman expressed the opinion that at the present time a new phase of detente and constructive East-West policy was needed.

Asked about his views on the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva, Willy Brandt said that, in his opinion, the negotiations had come to a "standstill". To get them going it is necessary to return to the agreement reached last January by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Andrey Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on resolving the complex of questions of space and nuclear arms in their interrelationship. In connection with that, Willy Brandt reaffirmed the negative stance of the Social Democratic Party of Germany on outer space militarization.

Asked how he evaluated allegations, made in the West, to the effect that the Soviet Union was going to attack Western Europe, Willy Brandt said: We, our friends, and many others in West Germany do not proceed from the premise that the Soviet Union has the intention to attack Western Europe. At the same time he went on to say, the actual state of affairs is such that both sides have accumulated huge stockpiles of arms and this fact in itself creates a potential of threat. It is, therefore, necessary to take the road of reducing arms and eliminating them.

PRAVDA Reports Press Conference

PM031001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 May 85 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "W. Brandt Press Conference"]

[Excerpts] The talks we have had in Moscow have been characterized by realism and an awareness of responsibility for people's lives. Such an intensive exchange of opinions can also be interesting and important in international relations, W. Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and president of the Socialist International, said at a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists journalists held 29 May in Moscow at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center.

In addition to a thorough meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, my colleagues and I had a number of individual talks on international problems and questions of bilateral relations, W. Brandt continued. The SPD is a party that advocates the safeguarding of peace. It is convinced that a new stage in detente and a constructive policy between West and East is acutely needed.

We had talks on the eve of the beginning of the second round of talks between the two superpowers in Geneva. We believe that the USSR and the United States should return to what they agreed on in January, that is to the close interconnection between the three packages of questions on which negotiations are being conducted in Geneva, the SPD chairman noted.

W. Brandt stressed the SPD's negative attitude toward the militarization of space. Pointing out that the Soviet Union does not intend to attack the West, he called for a shift from confrontation toward mutual arms reduction and partnership in the interests of peace.

Unfortunately, I must say, the SPD chairman continued, that in the FRG statements are being made by some politicians and groupings whose content deviates from the letter and spirit of the treaty of the seventies. However, there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of people in the FRG no longer want to have anything in common with the evil past. The overwhelming majority of the FRG people wants good-neighbourliness and mutual cooperation in the interests of both countries.

It was stated at the press conference that the Moscow talks touched on questions of trade and economic cooperation. Here it was noted that questions of mutual understanding and disarmament are closely linked with economic and cultural factors.

In conclusion, W. Brandt said that the CSU Central Committee general secretary recently pointed out that the Soviet Union does not view all world problems through the prism of Soviet-U.S. relations. Those are words which are also worth the consideration of West Europeans, the guest said.

Taking part in the press conference were SPD Board Presidium members E. Bahr and H. Koschnick, SPD Board member B. Engholm, D. Stobbe, member of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, W. Clement, chief of the SPD Board press section, and CPSU Central Committee member V.V. Zagladin.

DPA Reports Press Conference

LD290837 Hamburg DPA in German 0701 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Moscow, 29 May (DPA) -- SPD Leader Willy Brandt has demonstratively declared his support for the Western alliance after the end of his talks with the top Soviet leadership and has called on the Soviet Union to take "somewhat bolder unilateral steps" on her own initiative to end the arms race. Talking to journalists in Moscow on Tuesday evening, Brandt stated that he had also made clear to his Soviet interlocutors that it would be wrong to regard the SPD as an anti-U.S. party, even if it did not agree with the prevailing administration in Washington in all points. He also said in Moscow what he has already stressed in the Federal Republic, "we won't let a Russian label be stuck on us."

In his call to the Soviet Union for unilateral steps against the arms race, Brandt appealed to possibilities for the realization of a moratorium. Brandt confirmed that

the Soviet Union does not want to attack West Europe. But she possesses the "objective potential" for an attack. He had tried to explain to his Soviet interlocutors what problem this contained for the Europeans.

Meanwhile, SPD arms expert Egon Bahr said at the press conference that unilateral steps are "very risky" from the Soviet view. The USSR is now inferior to the U.S. in strategic nuclear weapons, for two thirds of the U.S. missiles are sea-based, mobile and barely vulnerable, whereas two thirds of the Soviet strategic missiles are firmly land-based and thus vulnerable. Were he "the inferior one," he would hesitate to disarm unilaterally. Bahr called on the United States to take unilateral steps on her part. "When will we actually tell our U.S. friends that they must disarm unilaterally?"

Brandt spoke for over 5 hours with Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday and then held discussions with other top representatives of the Soviet leadership. After Gorbachev had repeatedly stressed views shared by the SPD and CPSU, Brandt listed at the press conference on Tuesday evening those points where there had been no agreement. His Soviet interlocutors are wrong if they blame a large number of politicians in the Federal Republic for revanchism and revisionism. Brandt continued, his "important Soviet interlocutors" are either not sufficiently clear about the situation or not sufficiently united in their assessment of the development in West Europe. If one advances the unification of Europe, it is indispensable to coordinate European security policy as well. If an alternative to the U.S. space plans (Eureka) comes about in collaboration with France, then the Europeans "also" have "the right to benefit from the technology. That is not aggressive."

The SPD chief was "a little surprised" by the Soviet attitude to the U.S. space weapons plans (SDI). After all, the SDI is, in the assessment of the leading scientists, a "humbug" which will cost a lot of money but cannot function at all. In the worst scenario, hundreds of Soviet missiles would still reach their target.

In answer to questions, Brandt confirmed that the topic of Afghanistan had also been discussed in his talks with the Soviet leadership. "It is obvious that we did not do this in full agreement." He declined to answer questions about further details. "It is sufficient to name the topic."

Brandt confirmed that there is a "strong change in thinking" in the Soviet Union on the North-South problems. People in Moscow are now talking not only about the "arms bomb" but also about the "North-South bomb" and the "ecological bomb." The SPD chief said that "he sees a different attitude in the Soviet Union, as one of the industrial countries, to the developing countries" from that of his last visit to Moscow in 1981. Admittedly, he can imagine that some things could be "even better developed," but "something is happening here."

Domestic Federal Republic topics did not play a role in his talks in Moscow, according to Brandt. But he had been asked, just as in Western capitals, "What sort of government have you actually got" when one person says one thing and the one another.

Brandt also met later on Tuesday with Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi, who had arrived a few hours earlier in the Soviet capital for his visit and will have discussions with Gorbachev on Wednesday. According to SPD Executive Spokesman Wolfgang Clement, the 1-hour "friendly exchange of views" focused on the Geneva disarmament negotiations, SDI and the European alternative, Eureka.

Bahr Meets Akhromeyev

LD301135 Hamburg DPA in German 0955 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Bonn, 30 May (DPA) -- The military threat to the FRG "has grown objectively, even if the Federal Government and the United States do not like to talk about it," in the view of SPD [Social Democratic Party] disarmament expert Egon Bahr. Bahr, who traveled to the Soviet Union with SPD leader Willy Brandt, discussed details of his talk with Sergey Akhromeyev, the chief of the Soviet Staff, with journalists on Wednesday evening [29 May] during the return flight to the FRG.

There was agreement between the U.S. and Soviet numbers about the further stationing of Soviet SS-20 nuclear medium-range missiles [sentence as received]. Bahr also discussed the systems that have been newly deployed in the GDR and the CSSR with Akhromeyev. "Here there is of course a difference of opinion." The Soviet Union spoke of counter-measures against the U.S. Pershing II missiles. "We say that is an additional threat to us. The Soviet Union says: We threaten no one. We say, the Pershings also threaten no one." In the end one has to say: "The threat to the FRG has objectively grown."

Bahr continued: "Preventing the beginning of the deployment of weapons in space is a position on which there can be no compromise, according to Akhromeyev." The Soviet chief of the General Staff expressed the view that what the Americans consider to be a strategic defense capability could turn into offensive weapons. If this begins in space, then the Soviet Union must consider what it can do against systems which are stationed there, "that is, using offensive weapons against weapons in space will be considered," Bahr said.

The other side would in turn develop new weapons against these offensive weapons. "This means: Everything that has happened on earth in the last 100 years in terms of developing offensive and defensive weapons will start again in space. This is without end. Not only is it destabilizing, it cannot be afforded."

The SPD politician said he was "impressed with the explanations" of his Soviet interlocutors, "who completely and clearly underlined the necessity for cooperation between the USSR and the United States to come to grips with this situation. The readiness for cooperation was emphasized to me on several occasions."

Brandt Interviewed on Visit

DW291035 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2030 GMT 28 May 85

[Interview with SPD Chairman Willy Brandt by correspondent Lutz Lehmann in Moscow; date not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Lehmann] Mr Brandt, you are the first FRG politician to have had an extensive talk with General Secretary Gorbachev. What was your impression of him as a person and of his political intentions?

[Brandt] He is very well informed. I have corrected my earlier impression that he was an expert on domestic policy who must slowly become accustomed to foreign political problems. He is well informed.

[Lehmann] According to what we have heard and what we know from Washington, hardly any progress can be expected in Geneva. The general secretary used the word "fruitless" in talking about the negotiations. Do you see any hope on the horizon?

[Brandt] No, I do not see any hope on the horizon, unless a summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev were to produce something.

[Lehmann] Do you consider this to be possible?

[Brandt] Hardly this year.

[Lehmann] Would that be the only way?

[Brandt] Based on the current state of affairs, I see no other possibility.

[Lehmann] Could you make any helpful suggestions in this connection?

[Brandt] Not in public.

[Lehmann] Mr Brandt, as SPD chairman, what is the main issue of the talks here?

[Brandt] First, information about the Soviets' approach to Geneva. Second, possibilities of cooperation, especially economic cooperation, with the FRG -- despite everything. Also, I see renewed interest in North-South problems. This was not the case 4 years ago, when I was last in Moscow. There is a more concrete approach now to the relationship between armament and development, or armament and worldwide famine, if I can put it that way.

[Lehmann] The extensive attention given to you by the general secretary and the extensive coverage you received in the media have been interpreted in the FRG as a kind of compensation for what Reagan did to you. Do you agree?

[Brandt] No. I think that is wrong. You must know that before I came here, I had talks with many friends in the United States -- with senators, representatives, and others -- but I cannot know what all their thoughts were. In any event, I am happy to have had an opportunity here to receive thorough information.

FRG Press Roundup

DW300527 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0505 GMT 28 May 85

[From the press review]

[Text] To begin with, here are some views on the talks held between SPD Chairman Brandt and the Soviet leadership. The NEUE RUHR-ZEITUNG of Essen States: SPD Chairman Willy Brandt will return from Moscow with an unusual wealth of information. He is the first politician from Bonn to meet at length with Mikhail Gorbachev and to get to know him personally and to hear his views firsthand, with the exception of Kohl's talks on the sidelines of Chernenko's funeral. The red carpet treatment accorded the SPD chairman by the Kremlin cannot be explained only by the refusal of U.S. President Reagan to receive the former chancellor and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in Bonn. The Soviets are aware of Brandt's international standing and repect him as the statesman who signed the treaty of Moscow 15 years ago -- an essential element of detente -- in the wake of the Berlin crises during which Brandt as the governing mayor fought the hardest battle against Soviet blackmail.

The NEUE OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG writes: Without doubt Moscow is at present in the process of using the newly-found self-confidence of the SPD, which is thriving on its impressive election successes, along with the political and personal stature of the former chancellor to lend new force to its campaign to discredit the United States. As far as the Geneva talks are concerned, Brandt and Gorbachev are already speaking with one and the same voice. The same applies to the U.S. "star wars" plans. Although the SPD leader pointed out in his toast that during the period the SPD was in office, Moscow challenged neither alliance loyalty nor did it play off the Social Democrats against the United States, it is also true to say that the SPD did not make it very difficult for Moscow to draw its conclusions from the relations between Ollenhauer-Haus and the United States. The debate on counterarmament serves as an example of this.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE Comments

DW300519 Frankfurt Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 May 85 p 1

[Editorial by "G.N.": "Extra Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The particular attention paid by the Soviet leadership to the chairman of the SPD is striking. Gorbachev received Willy Brandt with honors normally reserved for visitors of high state office. The Soviet Union knows that in dealing with Western countries it is useful to keep in touch with leading opposition politicians because, unlike in the Soviet Union, the opposition of today may be the government of tomorrow. It is the interests of the democratic system that the leadership of the opposition also informs itself on foreign policy. In principle there is nothing wrong with this, even if another principle of the same democratic system, which must be upheld equally, is that the government is responsible for the planning and the implementation of the foreign policy.

Brandt is a smart politician who knows how to use a gesture or language to play on other peoples' feelings. Could it be that he himself did not realize that his hosts set out to flatter him and to boost his importance? Brandt's toast must have pleased them. He called for an East-West policy from a "European perspective," which means without the U.S., whose withdrawal from Europe is the permanent aim of Soviet foreign policy. Brandt called for economic and scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union, cooperation which would indeed be very useful to the Soviet Union, but this cannot be nearly as important to Western Europe as the negotiations about military power with which Moscow suppresses on half the world and threatens the other. In Moscow Brandt spoke out against the "space plans" of the U.S., the significance of which is the ability -- as PRAVDA wrote on the same day -- to make Soviet nuclear weapons "useless." Should Brandt not wish for nuclear weapons to become "useless"?

It is sad to see, to say the least, that in his efforts to serve Europe, Willy Brandt is putting his faith more and more in the power which is itself the continuing reason for the discord and the insecurity which have haunted Europe since the end of Hitler's Europe. If one does not want to conclude that Brandt is pursuing his own foreign policy due to injured pride, only one other interpretation remains: He lacks not a mission, but a sense of reality.

SPACE ARMS

USSR: U.S. WRONG IN CLAIMING SDI, ABM TREATY COMPATIBLE

Perle Remarks Hit

LD222245 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 22 May 85

[Commentary by Viktor Olin]

[Text] The United States Administration has been continuously harping on the subject of alleged violations by the Soviet Union of its arms limitation commitments. Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle for one alleged recently that the USSR was going to stop abiding by the 1972 timeless treaty on the limitation of antimissile defense systems. Here is a commentary from our observer Viktor Olin, who writes:

As facts show, Perle's remark was prompted least of all by care for observing the accords, above all the ABM treaty. The purpose of that statement, and many similar ones, has been to prepare the public in the United States and abroad psychologically for the militarization of space as part of the so-called Star Wars program. Without persuasive evidence to support the charges, those who make them take up every pretext. They assert, for instance, that the militarization of space is an accomplished fact, since various military satellites, Soviet included, are already in orbit, which is wishful thinking. As far as the true state of affairs is concerned, it was clarified by the Soviet Defense Minister, Marshal Sokolov, in an interview with a TASS correspondent recently. This country, Marshal Sokolov explained, has been conducting scientific research in various areas, including the military field. But its purpose is to advance the systems of early warning, reconnaissance, communication, and navigation, rather than create a strike space weapon. We do not create a strike space weapon or an antimissile defense of the country's territory, Marshal Sokolov stressed.

In contrast to this, the development of strike space systems in the United States has entered a practical stage. Trials have been underway to test laser weapons of various types, electromagnetic guns, interceptor missiles, and antisatellite killers. All this clearly contravenes the ABM accord. However, as Richard Perle has admitted, the United States would forego it right away if it didn't fear a decisive national debate on the issue. By its actions, the United States administration has not only been eroding the agreement, but has been undermining the basis for achieving new accords, the principle of equality and equal security. Washington has been preparing to create an antimissile shield and has simultaneously been building up strategic arms. So, if the

United States declines to assume a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the way the Soviet Union has done, it is clear that it plans a first nuclear and space weapon strike, and hopes, with impunity.

But those who seek a military superiority over the USSR should not delude themselves. As before, this country will adopt necessary measures to strengthen its security and that of its friends. The balance will be restored, but at the cost of larger stockpiles of destructive weapons, and this means that world security will be at greater risk. For this reason, the only way to eliminate such a prospect is to observe the agreement scrupulously along the lines of equality and equal security, and seek to abolish nuclear weapons fully.

'Harmless Research' Denied

LD251153 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 25 May 85

[*"Space: Another of the Pentagon's Weapons Testing Ranges?"*--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (TASS)--TASS commentator Aleksey Popov writes:

Washington officials seek to allay worldwide public concern and protests over U.S. plans to militarize outer space. They claim that Reagan's "Star Wars" program is nothing more than "Harmless Research" which does not contradict the existing arms control agreements in any way. Besides, they add hypocritically, it will become possible to put the results of this "research" to practical use only in remote future. But U.S. practical actions give the lie to such claims.

As early as next month the United States begins testing what are actually individual components of the comprehensive space-based antimissile defense which is being developed under the "Star Wars" program. The Pentagon board overseeing the program announced that the next Discovery shuttle flight slated for June will be used, among other things, for experiments in this field. During such an "experiment" it is planned to fire a laser from the Hawaiian Islands at a small-size reflector aboard the spaceship, which is meant to guide laser beams to targets on lower orbits. In other words, the "Research Equipment" will in fact be a mockup of one of the more important components of the projected antimissile defense, while the Pentagon's "experiment" itself will aim to master the principle of its operation.

Clearly, it is right now rather than in "remote future" that the United States is going to embark on practical work to carry out the "Star Wars" program which is in direct conflict not only with the spirit but also with the letter of the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile defense systems, whose Article 5 says, in particular, that the sides undertake "not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." The forthcoming Discovery mission will thus be marked by a violation of this agreement. And the American press says that the test is to be followed up with a whole series of major "experiments" involving space shuttles (twice a year) under the "Star Wars" program.

Besides, the Pentagon plans to develop jointly with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the near future a new space shuttle which will be able to carry heavier payloads and thus make it much easier to orbit various systems and components for experiments under the space ABM defense program as well as space attack weapons.

Since the Reagan administration announced the "Star Wars" program two years ago, the ABM treaty has become the main stumbling block in the way of American strategists' plans to gain military superiority by unleashing arms race. Now they are prepared to step over the treaty's provisions by making space into a military testing range of the Pentagon.

Nitze Remarks Hit

LD312233 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

Fred Ikle, U.S. under secretary of defence, once frankly explained that the Reagan administration intended to adhere to the international arms limitation treaties only as long as the realisation of the Pentagon's military programmes did not enter into conflict with the provisions. In other words, Washington holds that any treaty limitations on the deployment of arms and on their testing are intended for other countries and have no practical or legal significance to the United States.

Washington's logic is that if a treaty to some extent hinders the United States in building up its military arsenals, the USA should renounce such a treaty. It was precisely this principle which the United States was guided by when derailing the almost completely coordinated treaty on a total ban on nuclear weapons' testing and when refusing to ratify the "threshold" agreement and the treaty on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, and when declaring the treaty on the limitations of strategic arms to be a "pseudoagreement on arms control."

It is precisely such approach by the present U.S. Administration to international agreements that has earned it the odious reputation of an unreliable partner at the talks on disarmament.

The same views on the U.S. obligation under the treaties, which Ikle sets forth with truly soldierly straightforwardness, Paul Nitze, the U.S. Administration's special consultant, who has become a practised hand in casuistic rhetoric, is trying to present more diplomatically, with pretensions to impartiality and even refinement.

Speaking in the School of Advanced International Studies under Hopkins University, Nitze has referred to the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as a useful and fair document. He stated that the United States ostensibly intends to fully observe the treaty. According to him, the point is that the USA and the Russians "should move forward jointly in an agreed manner" and get adapted to new circumstances.

As is clear from the speech by Reagan's consultant, by "new circumstances" he means the present U.S. Administration's plans to implement a programme for the creation of space strike arms, and by saying "moving forward" Nitze evidently would like to describe an unlimited militarisation of outer space.

What provisions of this really useful and fair document on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems does Nitze think possible to keep without entering into conflict with Reagan's "star wars" plan?

The 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Ballistic Missile Systems and the 1974 protocol to it allow each of the sides to deploy not more than a hundred anti-missile launchers in only one area with a radius of 150 km. Reagan's "star wars" programme envisages the deployment of hundreds and possibly thousands of anti-missile systems over the entire territory of the United States as well as over Europe and other continents.

The parties to the 1972 treaty undertook not to create, test or deploy space-based anti-ballistic missile systems or components. Under Reagan's "star wars" plan, the most important elements of a large-scale anti-missile defence system should be space-based. It has already been announced in Washington that the Pentagon will carry out a series of anti-missile test firings against space targets in accordance with the "research" schedule.

Under the treaty, the USSR and the USA undertake not to turn over ABM systems or their components to other states and not to deploy them outside their national territories. Washington already now has invited its allies to participate in the development of an anti-missile defence system and promised to hand over to them not only technical information, but also individual anti-missile defence components in exchange for the right to use their territories for the realisation of U.S. nuclear space plans.

All the provisions of Reagan's "Strategic Defence Initiative" glaringly contradict the now effective Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. Reagan's "star wars" programme and the 1972 treaty are absolutely incompatible and mutually exclusive things.

The talk in Washington about readiness of the USA to observe the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems while preparing for the deployment of a large-scale anti-missile defence system is aimed at unscrupulously deceiving the world public which categorically rejects the "star wars" plans and demands that the USA take resolute measures to prevent an arms race in space and to end it on earth.

Nitze, Nobel Laureates Contrasted

LD311637 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 31 May 85

[**"Voices of Reason and Designs of Foes of Detente"--TASS headline]**

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Here we have two reports, which came almost at the same time by teleprinters. The first one, saying that adviser of the President and secretary of state Paul Nitze reaffirmed the intention of the Washington administration to work for implementation of plans of preparations for "star wars". The second: Several hundred prominent American scientists, among them 50 Nobel Prize laureates, have firmly denounced Washington's plans linked with creation of a new class of weapons -- attack space armaments, stressing that outer space should serve the cause of peace, but not war.

The two reports reveal two different, moreover, quite opposite stands. On the one hand-- the aggressive militaristic line aimed at undermining the Soviet-American ABM Treaty dated 1972, at creating armaments prohibited by the treaty, the course of speeded up material preparations for war, of spurring mankind to senseless spending of tremendous material and intellectual resources. That course, that line so much clearly seen in Washington's outright sabotage of the discussion and solution of the question of preventing the arms race in outer space, might only wreck the foundation which the process of limitation of the arms race is based on, intensify the danger of a nuclear war the conflagration of which, it is absolutely obvious, would not bypass the United States, either.

On the other hand -- the stand of those who, irrespective of their political views, become increasingly aware that in our nuclear-space age for mankind there is no other reasonable alternative but the curbing of the reckless race of contemporary and super-contemporary armaments, which sweeps the world, prevention of the arms race in outer space and its termination on earth. The statement by competent American scientists provides yet new evidence showing that despite attempts of U.S. militaristic circles to conceal, to camouflage the aggressive essence of the plans of preparations for star wars, the danger of these plans to peace, to mankind has now become particularly obvious. Not only scientists but also millions of people are clearly aware that renunciation of creation, tests and deployment of attack space armaments would open the way to radical reductions of nuclear armaments, and in the final account, to realisation of the great goal -- liquidation of nuclear weapons fully and everywhere.

The attention of the international public is again riveted these days to Geneva where the second round has begun at the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space armaments. The USSR's stand at the forum has been and remains unchanged: Our country has been doing and will continue doing the utmost to see to it that the accord on the subject and aims of the negotiation be translated into concrete agreements leading to the lessening of the danger of a nuclear war, to a sharp reduction in the level of nuclear confrontation between the USSR and USA, to consolidation of stability and international security. Will the American side introduce the necessary correctives into its stand, will it answer with reciprocity, will it heed the demands of the world, including the American public? Or will it, contrary to reason, continue the former militaristic course which will inevitably lead to lower security of both the United States and its allies?

Further on Nitze Remarks

PM051009 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jun 85 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch: "Washington's Perverse Logic"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Jun -- Speaking at the School of Contemporary International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University, Paul Nitze, the U.S. Administration's special consultant, described the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as a "useful and fair document." He claimed that the United States "intends to observe this treaty in full." According to his words, the problem is that the value of this most important document has been "eroded," you understand, and "the United States and the Russians must move forward jointly and in concert" and "adapt to new circumstances."

It transpires from the Reagan consultant's speech that what he means by "new circumstances" are the present U.S. Administration's plans to implement its program for the development of space strike weapons; he would clearly like the words "move forward" to describe the unlimited militarization of outer space.

Which of the provisions of this indeed useful and fair document can, in Nitze's view, be preserved without conflicting with Reagan's "star wars" plan?

The 1972 ABM Treaty and the 1974 protocol to that treaty permit each side to deploy no more than 100 ABM installations in one area with a radius of 150 km. Contrary to the 1972 treaty, Reagan's "star wars" program envisages the deployment of hundreds, possibly thousands of ABM defense facilities above the entire U.S. territory, and also above Europe and other continents.

The parties to the 1972 treaty pledged not to develop, test, or deploy space-based ABM defense systems or components. However, under the Reagan plan the most important elements of the large-scale ABM defense system are to be based in space. It has already been announced in Washington that, in accordance with the "research" work schedule, the Pentagon is to carry out a series of space-oriented ABM tests.

Under the treaty the USSR and the United States pledged not to pass on ABM defense systems or components to other states and not to deploy them outside their own national territory.

Ignoring this pledge, Washington has already invited its allies to take part in the elaboration of ABM defense and promised to pass on to them not just technical information but also certain ABM defense components in exchange for the right to use their territory to implement U.S. nuclear space plans.

All the provisions of Reagan's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) blatantly contradict the Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems, which is currently in operation. SDI and the 1972 treaty are two absolutely incompatible and mutually exclusive things.

Fred Ikle, U.S. undersecretary of defense, once frankly explained that the Reagan administration intended to abide by international treaties on arms limitation only as long as their provisions did not conflict with the implementation of Pentagon military programs. If a treaty hampers the United States in any way in the buildup of its military arsenals, the United States must renounce the treaty. This is Washington's perverse logic.

This is precisely the principle by which the United States was guided when it abandoned the almost fully agreed on treaty on a general and complete nuclear test ban, when it refused to ratify the "threshold" agreement and the treaty on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, and when it declared that the SALT treaty was a "pseudoagreement on arms control."

It is precisely this kind of approach to international accords which has earned the present U.S. Administration its notorious reputation as an unreliable partner in disarmament talks.

The talk in Washington about U.S. readiness "to observe the ABM treaty" while preparations to develop a large-scale ABM defense system are under way pursues the aim of shamelessly deceiving the world public, which categorically rejects the "star wars" plans and demands that the United States adopt resolute measures to prevent an arms race in space and end it on earth.

Contradiction Seen

LD032131 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1850 GMT 3 Jun 85

[From "The World Today" program presented by political observer Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Let us recall some of the provisions of the 1972 ABM Treaty and its 1974 protocol. According to this most important international document, the USSR and the United States adopted the pledge to station not more than 100 antimissile installations, not more than 100, and to set them up only in a radius of 150 kilometers. The Soviet-U.S. treaty obliges the sides not to create, test, or deploy systems or components for antimissile defense based in space. Let us also recall that according to this treaty, the USSR and the United States are not to pass antimissile defense systems or components for them to other states and may not station them outside their own national territory.

Why is it necessary to recall this? Because at the moment official Washington, while speaking in favor of the treaty, is in fact trying to revise it, to adapt it to the new circumstances of today. That is just what was stated by Paul Nitze, special consultant to the U.S. Administration.

I will quote him word for word: The United States and the Russians should move forward together, in harmonized fashion, and adapt to new circumstances; in other respects, the United States intends to obey the treaty. Again, words are one thing, deeds another.

It is not possible to combine the Soviet-U.S. treaty on restriction of antimissile defense systems and the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative.

It turns out that the United States, ignoring the obligations it has adopted, is violating the treaty on each of the basic provisions. The "star wars" program foresees the deployment of hundreds, and possibly thousands, of antimissile defense weapons above the entire United States, and also over Europe and other continents. Not 100. That is a plain violation of the treaty. The most important elements, according to Reagan's plan, are to be based in space. Again, this is a plain violation. The United States is inviting its allies to take part in the development of antimissile defense and promises to pass not just technical information, but also individual components of such a defense, to them. Again, a violation. With what aim are assurances of loyalty to the treaty being given? The aim is clear. The United States wants once again to dupe the world public.

State Department's Comments Hit

LD061409 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1303 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jun (TASS) -- TASS observer on military affairs Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Commenting at a news conference on the article by MSU S.F. Akhromeyev, published in PRAVDA, a U.S. State Department spokesman used the methodology long since adopted by Washington, including three "obligatory" components: publicity for the policy of the present U.S. Administration; a denial, without evidence to the contrary, of all facts relating to its unseemly activity; and absurdities regarding the USSR.

Of course, the United States, like the Soviet Union, according to the State Department spokesman, "considers that a treaty on antimissile defense is very important." The question arises: Does this highly esteemed U.S. institution really not know the attitude actually adopted by representatives of the U.S. Administration to such a treaty? After all, it has more than once stated its intention of "reviewing" it, or even of discussing the question of curtailing it as soon as it "hampers" implementation of the "star wars" concept.

Let us take the other "thesis" put forward at the news conference: The "star wars" program is allegedly "being implemented completely within the framework of the ABM Treaty." According to the U.S. interpretation, the treaty "permits research to be carried out, which is what the United States is doing," but surely any efforts to create a wide-scale antimissile defense with space-based elements must inevitably be perceived by the other side as a serious threat. This is understood in the United States itself. R. McNamara, former U.S. defense secretary, recently quite rightly pointed out that the chief task of the ABM Treaty is to provide the opportunity for either side to remain confident that the other side is not preparing for sudden deployment of an antimissile defense. However, the very "thesis" about "research" is obviously dubious. Here, as well, the U.S.

State Department again seems to be "not in the know" both concerning the content of the treaty itself and what the Pentagon is actually doing. The latter, as it happens, is in plain contradiction to the ABM Treaty, which forbids the building and testing of space-based antimissile defense systems or components.

The creation of specific models of strike space weapons is under way in American laboratories and testing sites, and individual models are already undergoing tests at full speed. They are developing lasers of various kinds, electromagnetic cannon, and interceptor missiles. Other clauses of the treaty have also long been violated: work continues on the creation of mobile antimissile defense radar stations, 'Minuteman' missiles are being tested for being given the capabilities of antimissiles, multicharge heads for antimissiles are being built, and so on.

And how, for example, can the U.S. State Department "reconcile" its statement that the "star wars" program is being implemented "fully within the framework of the antimissile defense treaty" with a Pentagon memorandum of 23 May on the testing of one of the components of space weapons, planned for during the flight of the space shuttle "Discovery" in the middle of this month? Evidently, these things cannot be reconciled; they are mutually exclusive.

This is why the State Department spokesman finds it difficult to go into detail and explain his "axioms." It is much simpler to categorically state: "It is the Soviet Union that is violating the treaty, not us;" "Soviet arguments are unconvincing." The State Department disregards the fact that the Soviet Union adduces a large number of real facts testifying that Washington is leading matters toward undermining the treaty on antimissile defense, and that the so-called "charges" levelled against the USSR are fabricated and do not correspond to reality. But, however Washington may endeavor to jeopardize the prospect of the existence of an antimissile defense treaty, the USSR will never accept what the United States is doing in this field.

CSO: 5200/1215

SPACE ARMS

USSR: MORE ON U.S. CAMPAIGN FOR EUROPEAN SDI SUPPORT

'Swarm' of Conference Organizers

LD062022 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 6 May 85

[Commentary by Viktor Olin]

[Text] In the past few weeks Western Europe has begun to swarm with organizers of all kinds of conferences, symposiums, seminars whose goal is to involve America's allies in the realization of its Star Wars program.

Viktor Olin comments:

The conference held in Munich recently was indicative from the point of view of the arguments used by the advocates of President Reagan's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. Its sponsors focused their efforts on publicizing the imaginary economic and technological advantages the West Europeans would get as a result of joining the Star Wars Program. At the same time, they tried to scare them by the prospect of being left hopelessly behind, in case of their refusal, the development of science and engineering in the United States, of losing their share of the many billion dollar worth allocations granted for the development and deployment of space weapons.

However, the organizers of the conference dodged answers to the question as to why they invite people to rely on the collateral of space militarization instead of using the enormous funds allocated for it directly in promoting the civilian branches of the economy and science which would yield immeasurably weightier results.

The advocates of Star Wars bypass political and military problems connected with the realization of the program not without reason. Their allegations that the Strategic Defense Initiative will make nuclear weapons powerless and obsolete, that it will provide Western Europe with a space shield, can convince only extremely naive people. Competent specialists and research organizations have set off against these allegations convincing proof that the consequences of space militarization are extremely dangerous. As military experts are warning, the real purpose of the U.S. space program is to break up the military-strategic parity and obtain supremacy over the Soviet Union. It is not by chance that parallel plans have been laid for

building a huge arsenal of strategic nuclear weapons. All this should provide a potential for the delivery of a nuclear strike at the Soviet Union under the cover of a space shield creating the illusion of impunity.

From the political point of view the situation is also fraught with countless negative consequences. If the arms race is transferred into space it may get out of control and the risk of an outbreak of war by accident may increase sharply. This would not only cross out the existing treaties such as for example the (?terminus) [as heard] treaty on antimissile defense of 1972, but would undermine the possibility of concluding new agreements on arms limitation. The resulting destabilization of the situation should create the conditions Washington is seeking, conditions which as Washington hopes will enable it to subject the Soviet Union and other countries to permanent nuclear blackmail. Since the United States has refused to pledge not to use nuclear weapons first, there is emerging a real and quite serious threat to universal peace.

All this brings up the question: Are the benefits the United States is promising to other countries in exchange for their involvement in the program of Star Wars really worth a multiple increase in the danger of nuclear war? Wouldn't it be easier to give up programs leading to such a war till [as heard] there are still possibilities and time for us?

To Breach ABM Treaty

LD101644 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 10 June 85

[Article by TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev]

[Text] Moscow June 10 TASS--Addressing members of the Bow group faction of the Conservative Party in London, General James Abrahamson, director of the agency charged with implementing President Reagan's "star wars" program, advocated the participation of Western European countries in the U.S. program for outer space militarization. Abrahamson arrived in London specially to advertise President Reagan's plan for developing attack space weapons within the framework of so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI). In doing so, the general resorted to outright deception concerning the "defensive character" of U.S. preparations for "star wars". In actual fact the SDI is a large-scale plan devised to give the United States military superiority through acquisition of the capability for dealing the first pre-emptive strike at the enemy.

Admitting that there exists a strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union at the present time--this admission is made in a report on the SDI program submitted to the U.S. Congress by the Pentagon last April--the U.S. Administration nonetheless intends to upset that balance through space militarization efforts.

The Reagan administration officials are trying to sell their NATO allies the idea that the development of a large-scale anti-missile system "does not breach" the existing U.S. treaties, particularly the 1972 Soviet-U.S. treaty

on the limitation of anti-ballistic missiles, and hence, there are no obstacles holding back participation of Western European countries in Washington's "star wars" plans. This is outright and deliberate disinformation. The substance of the ABM Treaty is the prohibition of the deployment of ABM systems for the defense of the territories of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., that is, large-scale anti-ballistic missile defense system. If this foundation is removed the entire edifice of that agreement will collapse.

Moreover, trying to draw Western Europe and other countries into realization of its designs, the U.S. Administration plans to develop a global space combat system into which the existing nuclear capability of the United States and those of its European allies are to be incorporated and subordinated to U.S. strategic plans. This also contradicts the ABM Treaty.

It is also maintained that by carrying out research within the framework of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" the United States would like only to receive "information" about the possibilities of deploying an anti-ballistic missile system and nothing more.

However, it can be seen from the mentioned Pentagon reports that components of space weapons are already modelled and tested at Los Alamos and Livermore Laboratories, other centers and White Sands missile testing range. Moreover, in 1986 fiscal it is planned to complete 73 "initial" programs of the SDI in the field of development of laser, kinetic energy and other types of "exotic" weapons both ground- and space-based.

A special place in U.S. preparations for "star wars" is assigned to the development of weapons using guided energy generated by nuclear systems, specifically by staging atomic blast in outer space. Let us recall in that connection that the 1963 treaty signed by the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and Britain prohibits atomic explosions in the atmosphere and outside it, including outer space. This means that the U.S. Administration lays a mine under the treaty as well so as to be ready to blast it as soon as it no longer suits it. suits it.

Thrusting "star wars" plans on Western Europe, the U.S. Government uses standard techniques of manipulating public opinion--resorts to deception, carefully concealing all the dangerous consequences accompanying space militarization.

CSO: 5200/297

SPACE ARMS

U.S. SPACE ARMS PLAN DESCRIBED, SIMILAR SOVIET PLANS DENIED

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Col M. Ponomarev: "Washington: A Policy of 'Dual Reaction'"]

[Text] The Militaristic Logic of the White House--USA Implements a Strategy of Foolhardiness--The Firm and Unchanging USSR Position.

Recently the Indian newspaper FREE PRESS JOURNAL published an analytical article which was called: "The United States Conducts a Policy of Dual Reaction in Regard to the USSR." What did the author mean? "The policy of a dual attitude toward the Soviet Union which is being conducted by the United States," it says in the article, "means Washington's conduct of talks with the USSR concerning a reduction in tension and, at the same time, the adoption of any measures--military, political, and economic--to attain superiority over the Soviet Union." In which regard, all these measures of the American administration in the end "are a component part of its resolve to attain world domination for itself."

It is believed that the newspaper succeeded in expressing in laconic form the very essence of Washington's political course in the international arena. Its duality, and to put it more exactly, its duplicity, is obvious. This has been confirmed anew by recent events.

On one hand, the United States began new talks with the Soviet Union on the entire complex of nuclear and space weapons. In Washington, there is now much talk about a serious approach to these talks and about the striving to achieve positive results and reduce the threat of nuclear war which is hanging over mankind. Thus, in one of the subcommittees of the Senate Appropriations Committee the question of the United States' interest in Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons was touched on by the U.S. Secretary of State, George Shultz. He assured the Senators that the President is personally "participating very actively" in this process. "He gives instructions to the group leaders," Shultz stressed. "He heads all efforts."

But on the other hand it is impossible to interpret the practical actions of the Washington administration other than as proof of its bad intentions and the striving to acquire a "position of strength" and, from this "position," to conduct affairs with both the Soviet Union and with other states. The White House not only does not conceal, but stresses in every way that it claims "world leadership." It declared half the world as the zone of its "special interests," raised terrorism and armed brigandage to the rank of state policy, is forcing the arms race on Earth, and is trying to shift it to outer space.

Perhaps in no other area has the duplicity of Washington been displayed so clearly as in its actions for realization of the "Star Wars" program and its diplomatic and propaganda cover. The Soviet press, including KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, has already written of this many times. And nevertheless, there is an urgent necessity to rivet the readers' attention again and again to the goals which the authors of this program have set for themselves and which they hypocritically call the "strategic defense initiative."

Even if some new name is sought for the "Star Wars" program, obviously it will be most correct to say as follows: "strategic foolhardiness." In fact, this program is one of the most important component parts of the United States' adventuristic offensive strategy. For its essence consists of preventing a responsive strike after a nuclear missile attack on the USSR and the destruction or knocking-out of Soviet intercontinental missiles during the first two to five minutes after launch, that is, over the territory of the Soviet Union. Thus, it is called upon to ensure conditions for launching the first nuclear strike against the USSR without fearing subsequent retribution in so doing.

Along with the development of an antimissile defense system directed, as the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES wrote, "toward the neutralization of Soviet missiles," the United States is conducting research efforts directed toward seeing that "such a fate would never befall American nuclear missiles." The discussion concerns the creation of advanced "penetration means" capable of breaking through the "Soviet defensive system."

We cannot overlook the fact that the space weapons being developed in the United States have a dual purpose. It is intended to emplace laser, beam, and missile weapons in space. And they can also be used against both enemy missiles and against other objects in outer space, the atmosphere, and on Earth. Actually, a new class of offensive weapons is being created. And it is being created at feverish rates. Implementation of the program for the creation of an antimissile defense with space-based elements, General Abrahamson, who is responsible for its accomplishment, stated frankly on the pages of the journal AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, is advancing in the United States at such rapid rates that the first tests of space weapons from on board a reusable ship of the Shuttle type are planned for conduct already in 1987--two years earlier than planned.

And meanwhile, the same journal reported, President Reagan signed the directive, "Strategic Launchings for National Security." It is called upon to make more active work being conducted across the ocean on the militarization of space and, in particular, initiates efforts for the development of the next generation of reusable spaceships with the powerful Saturn-5 rocket carrier, which permits injecting military satellites into a near-Earth orbit.

It can also be recalled that quite recently the newspaper WASHINGTON POST reported on a combat manual of the U.S. Air Force which was published in 1984 as "aerospace doctrine." In it, it is stressed that space "provides an unlimited potential and possibilities for military operations." And further: "The Air Force will maintain the United States' technical superiority in the aerospace field and will ensure the potential for prolonged military operations through the creation of the means for the conduct of combat operations in outer space."

Thus, the weapons being created in accordance with the program for the preparation and conduct of "star wars" are weapons not only and not so much defensive as offensive. However much the representatives of the American administration and its supporters may repeat again and again there, they will become an integral component of a first nuclear strike which is intended for disarming the Soviet Union and depriving it of the capability to launch a responsive strike against the aggressor.

The new, hitherto unprecedented turn in the arms race will be begun by Washington not only in space. Washington is also deploying it on Earth.

Recently the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the construction of 21 more MX intercontinental missiles. Although in the White House they are persistently called the Peacekeeper, it is clear even to a non-specialist--it is a first-strike weapon, a weapon of aggression. This 96-ton missile is equipped with a multiple warhead with 10 independently targetable reentry vehicles with a yield of 600 kilotons each. One such missile possesses greater destructive force than all the explosive devices employed in the course of World War II together. Such missiles, which are distinguished by great accuracy in firing and which can be emplaced in highly-protected silos, should strengthen the offensive nuclear potential of the United States in significant measure.

And here they did not get by without hypocrisy and double dealing. The MX program caused resistance on the part of many congressmen who correctly considered that its implementation will not strengthen the security of the United States in the slightest but can destroy the military-strategic balance with the Soviet Union. The President, and the secretary of state, and the secretary of defense, and even the head of the American delegation to the Soviet-American talks who was summoned from Geneva undertook cultivating them. Representatives of the administration frightened the congressmen by saying that if they do not approve the appropriation of funds for the MX missile a "leg of the table of these talks" would be broken and "they would collapse immediately." And here approval of the program allegedly will lead to success in Geneva.

From the numerous speeches of the chief of the White House, it became clear that his administration considers the talks with the Soviet Union not as a rare opportunity to achieve a reduction in nuclear weapons and prevent the militarization of space but as a pretext for the further buildup of the armaments of the United States. According to Reagan it appears that accomplishment of the agreed goals of the Soviet-American talks--the prevention of an arms race in space and its cessation on Earth--should be accompanied by the creation of American space weapons and the buildup of strategic first-strike strategic nuclear systems--such as the MX missiles--on Earth.

Such is Washington's militaristic logic. If it is followed, it turns out that the path to peace lies across the bosom of nuclear warheads, and to achieve disarmament their supplies must first be increased even more.

In order to somehow justify these logical vagaries in the eyes of American and world public opinion, in Washington they are not ashamed to have recourse to the basest tricks. Deceit, insinuations, the substitution of some facts for others--

everything is being put into motion. Thus, the President himself was not ashamed to state regarding military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States that it is the most ridiculous assertion which he ever heard. He declared many times that in the 1970's "America disarmed unilaterally." And this at a time when, according to evidence of the newspaper NEW YORK TIMES, the United States added 5,000 nuclear warheads for its strategic missiles, built the Trident missiles for nuclear submarines, and developed long-range cruise missiles. In examining the facts, the newspaper sums up, not one reasonable person could say that "we disarmed unilaterally."

Nor did the Pentagon remain aloof of such tricks. The latest edition of the slanderous opus "Soviet Military Power" has just been published in Washington. Even the Western bourgeois press notes that in trying to prove the unproveable in this brochure--that allegedly it is the Soviet Union and not the United States which is implementing plans for the militarization of space at forced rates and whipping up the arms race--its authors would have liked to beat down the wave of criticism in regard to the "Star Wars" program, stress the "necessity" for the development of strategic "defensive" weapons, and demand of its allies support of Washington's intentions as regards the use of space for military purposes.

What is the position of the Soviet Union under these conditions? It was clearly and sharply defined at the March (1985) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In the future too, the Soviet Union will firmly follow the Lenin course of peace and peaceful coexistence. The USSR always responds to good will with good will, and to confidence--with confidence. But everyone should know: we will never forgo the interests of our country and the interests of our allies.

6367
CSO: 1807/278

SPACE ARMS

USSR: FURTHER ON WEINBERGER APPEALS FOR ALLIED SDI BACKING

Remarks Called 'Ultimatums'

LD202038 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 20 TASS--TASS commentator Vasiliy Kharkov writes: Statements by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger on Washington's "Star Wars" program are becoming ever more categorical and sounding ever more like ultimatums. Speaking in an interview with the NBC television network Sunday before his departure to Brussels for a session of the NATO military planning committee, he said that the United States was going under no conditions to discontinue research and development under the program. The U.S. Defense Secretary also strongly objected to the "Strategic Defense Initiative" becoming the subject of any agreement at Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

Can't the noticeable toughening of the Pentagon chief's statements be explained by the fact that this week will see the expiry of the deadline he has set for America's allies to define their attitudes to the "Star Wars" program?

Weinberger gave them 2 months to do that when he officially suggested on 26 March that the U.S. allies in NATO and Japan join research under the program. Even then, many West European news analysts summed the proposal up as an open ultimatum.

But despite Washington's hard pressure on its allies, the "Star Wars" program is not supported by most West European countries. People there do not believe American claims that the project of a comprehensive antimissile defense with space-based elements is limited to a quest for defense against a nuclear attack. In fact it is the capability of dealing the first nuclear strike with impunity that the United States would like to secure under the guise of "defense."

The NEW YORK TIMES said that U.S. allies in Europe were showing mounting anxiety over the military and political implications of the "Star Wars" program. The prevalent opinion was, the paper added, that the new American systems were not being developed to protect Western Europe and would touch off an even more intense arms race and increase the risk of outbreak of a nuclear war.

The attitude in Western Europe to the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" can be judged by the reaction prompted by a discussion of that problem at the NATO assembly session in Stuttgart, which is ending today. The 3-day debate at the session, attended by parliamentarians of 16 countries, has demonstrated that most of the U.S. allies in Western Europe reject the "Star Wars" program. It is in vain that American Senator Roth tried to give the attendees a scare, by warning them about the danger of a split in NATO. The delegations of France, Denmark and Norway, backed by a number of other delegates, described the plans to militarize outer space as a gravest threat to peace. Characteristically, the opinions of many West European parliamentarians coincide with the assessment of the London Institute of Strategic Studies which recently called the SDI the main cause behind the complications of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

'Dispirited' by Response

LD241934 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 24 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt admitted that not a single West European government had yet reacted to the U.S. request to join in the preparation for the deployment of a large-scale ABM system.

This statement by a representative of the U.S. Department of State put in an awkward position U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger who, following a conversation in Brussels with head of Belgium's military department Freddy Vreven, announced through his assistants that the Belgian Government, supposedly, adopted the decision to take part in the U.S. "Strategic Defence Initiative" programme. The Pentagon's assertion has been rejected categorically also by the Belgian defence minister.

The growing opposition to the Reagan programme of "star wars" in the United States itself, the unwillingness of the governments of West European NATO countries to accept unconditionally Washington's "proposal" ultimatum and to throw themselves headlong into U.S. military-space ventures clearly disturb U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

Dispirited by the negative reaction of the Governments of France, Denmark and Norway to the proposal to take part in the work aimed at the creation of a large-scale anti-missile defence and having not received a single positive answer from European NATO countries to the U.S. proposal for the "Strategic Defence Initiative", the Pentagon's chief distorts facts on purpose and in his assessments of the situation that has formed around the plan of "star wars" goes from one extreme to another.

In one of his speeches Weinberger took to task the Western mass media and U.S. congressmen for their having been influenced by "Soviet propaganda" and refusing to take seriously the U.S. slogan "to nuclear disarmament through the build-up of U.S. armaments in space."

In another interview the Pentagon's chief asserts that the reaction of West European governments to the proposal to join in the U.S. programme of the militarisation of space is of no consequence whatsoever. Caspar Weinberger told newsmen on Thursday that

apparently there is a muddle-up in the question if the answers of the governments to the U.S. proposal on "Strategic Defence Initiative" are at all necessary. And on March 26 Caspar Weinberger suggested to the self-same governments that they should give an answer to the U.S. ultimatum about the participation of NATO countries in the development of ABM systems within 60 days.

One gets the impression that the differences on the question of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" within NATO take place not for the lack of understanding of the essence of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" in West European countries, as Weinberger asserts, but due to the fact that even the ruling circles of West European states come to realise with what a serious threat to Europe's security the U.S. plans of the militarisation of space are linked. The yielding to U.S. diktat would be tantamount to nuclear Munich.

Appeals to Private Firms

LD252258 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 May 85

[Commentary by Vladimir Pasko]

[Text] Washington is increasing pressure on its NATO allies, trying to force them to take part in the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has called on West European firms to join the development of the "star wars" program, not waiting for the official consent of their governments. Commentator Vladimir Pasko is at the microphone.

Weinberger's appeal to West European firms to circumvent their governments cannot be called anything but a trick. As is known, 2 months ago the United States, through its secretary of defense, proposed that its allies inform it, within a 60-day period, about their decision to join the development of the Reagan "star wars" program. The time ultimatum, which became known as the Weinberger ultimatum, expires soon, but none of the European capitals, despite extreme pressure, has yet given its official consent to take part in the space militarization plans. Washington was not successful in talking its allies into the plan, neither separately nor, more importantly, together.

In the course of the spring NATO session, the West Europeans stated that joint approaches to this problem cannot be worked out now. Weinberger's attempt to get out of the deadlock by his public statement on Belgium's agreement to take part in the Reagan initiative has ended in disgrace. Brussels refuted his assertion, adding insult to injury by saying that some people are inclined to see their dreams as reality. In other words, time is passing by nothing has moved. Washington, however, does not give up its plans; the idea of controlling space is too attractive. The nation in control of space, U.S. Air Force Under Secretary Aldridge stated, is in control of the entire world. We want the best brains working on the problem, and it does not matter in what country they can be found among our allies, Nitze, Reagan's chief disarmament control aide said.

Washington is exerting more and more pressure on those who hesitate. If it cannot achieve its aims through a frontal attack, it undertakes an attack from the rear. The calculation is that private capital, and first of all military business, will be seduced by profitable orders. Weinberger is appealing precisely to the producers of military and space technology, radio electronic equipment, lasers and computers, to circumvent governments and national interests.

SPACE ARMS

USSR: MAY COMMENTARIES ON ALLIED RESPONSES TO SDI

Allies To Gain Little

LD121705 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 12 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS--TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Washington is seeking any opportunity to involve its allies in the dangerous "Star Wars" program. Many U.S. officials, including the President, the vice-president, the defence secretary and a host of officers of lesser ranks, have tried to convince the U.S. partners to join in the "Strategic Defence Initiative." But all this has not added appeal to the program to militarise space. France has ultimately rejected the offer to participate in that dangerous program. President Francois Mitterrand said that his country did not want any part of that system, in which it would not be equal with the United States. Similar decisions were taken by Norway, Denmark and Australia.

Other U.S. allies have grave doubts about embarking on the road offered by Washington. Only the West German leaders want to "help" the White House. The British Weekly ECONOMIST says that Bonn hopes to benefit by the "Star Wars" program. If that program is a success, the French and British nuclear forces would become largely useless, which would remove the factor making West Germany less powerful than France and Britain. Today West Germany lacks nuclear weapons to attain the status of a "great power" enjoyed by Britain and France. Aware that Washington's military and strategic "arguments" for its plan to develop a large space-based ABM defence system are falling on deaf ears and even frighten away many allies, the Washington "merchants" have shifted emphasis onto the economic aspects of the program.

They say that the United States will give its allies the possibility to share in U.S. space technology and that those who will not join will hopelessly fall behind and lose international markets. Do not miss your chance, Washington repeats over and over again.

So some of West European politicians have "taken the bait" and followed Washington's line. Some of them are even impatient, fearing to be late and demanding as soon as possible a slice of the multibillion dollar pie. "The train will leave and it will be hard to catch up with it," they say. West European politicians who have a realistic view of the situation, however, not

only realise the military and political risks involved in the U.S. plans but also voice grave doubts about Washington's economic promises. As for the U.S. offer "to share space technology," the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL wrote that it would remain just a promise.

When it comes to strategically sensitive projects, the United States is not at all willing to share its achievements with the Europeans and does not want to show them "even a single blueprint of its designs." The British OBSERVER is even more outspoken, saying that the United States will exploit Europe to further its ends and use the achievements of its best research centres, while giving nothing in return to brighten the economic future of the European community.

Lieutenant General Abrahamson, who supervises the implementation of the U.S. "Strategic Defence Initiative," has just confirmed that these fears are justified. He frankly said in an interview to the Belgian newspaper LE SOIR that West European countries' participation in the "Star Wars" program would be limited to "unclassified research."

In this way, the access of Western Europe to major results of research will be limited and it will be cast in the role of the supplier of ideas and technology in those fields in which the United States lags behind. Even a limited participation in "Star Wars" preparations may result in a braindrain from Europe to the other side of the ocean. West European achievements will be used by Washington to further its own interests while risks will be shifted onto Western Europe.

It is high time for those "advocates" to realise that Washington invites them not into the train but only on the car step. As for the West Europeans' "luggage," the United States will take it inside and use it as it sees fit. The West Europeans should also wonder if they will be able in good time to leap off the train bound for the "Star Wars" abyss.

Europe Skeptical on Shared Technology

LD211621 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS--TASS news analyst Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

The United States is uneasy about having to share its technological secrets with European allies during joint U.S.-NATO research on President Reagan's "Star Wars" initiative. This conclusion is drawn by the London-based TIMES. A report from Washington published in the newspaper today points out that the so-called strategic defense initiative organization in charge of the multi-billion dollar program will do its utmost to prevent the leakage of "classified information." The TIMES also stresses that the United States is almost certain to withhold some particularly sensitive secrets.

The article published by the TIMES has much in common with the one published Monday by the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU which underlines that West Europeans have strong doubts over the ability of Western Europe to

make the United States transfer some of its technology within the framework of the "Star Wars" program.

Quoting statements of a number of parliamentarians who took part in a session of the North Atlantic Assembly held in Stuttgart, the newspaper writes that it is useless altogether to speak about a possibility of a genuine transfer of technology.

The above-mentioned quotations (and we could cite much more statements to the same effect) are evidence of profound distrust in Western Europe of Washington's assertions that the research within the framework of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" would promote technological progress. Western Europe regards them as false promises intended to present the dangerous American plans in a more favourable light.

American emissaries who have travelled Western Europe far and wide advocating the "Star Wars" program promised those countries the possibility to use the technology received from the United States in a number of related industries-- optics, electronics, etc. However, West Europeans are very much sceptical over these promises.

For example, a representative of the big West German optical firm "Karl Zeiss" pointed out that West Europeans could well achieve technological progress without the participation in the U.S. program. Moreover, many West Europeans believe that within the framework of the program Western Europe is assigned the role of the supplier of ideas and technology in the spheres where the U.S. lags behind. As a result of it, the "brain drain" to the United States which has already reached tremendous proportion will be further intensified.

The Reagan administration has resorted on more than one occasion to the toughening of control, up to an outright boycott, when it came to the utilization of the results of international cooperation in the sphere of technology. It is even more so, since the Pentagon always has the last word.

Growing Opposition Seen

LD231211 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 23 May 85

[Commentary by political observer Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] Over the last few days the question of the militarization of space has been discussed in all kinds of national and international forums:

In the British and Danish parliaments, at an assembly of NATO countries' parliamentarians in Stuttgart, at a session of the so-called Western European Union, and at sessions of a number of NATO organs in connection with the latest Atlantic marathon that has started in Brussels.

This heightened interest in problems concerning space is totally understandable. You see, Washington is not only forging ahead with the preparation for "star wars" in the United States itself but is attempting with increasing persistence to involve its NATO allies in this militarist enterprise. I shall remind you that at the end of March, at a session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group in Luxembourg, Weinberger, the head of the Pentagon, set out such a program and even delivered a kind of ultimatum: All the members of the Atlantic bloc immediately had to examine this question and within 60 days give their corresponding reply.

The 2 months are up and now the self-same Weinberger is summing up the results at the spring session of NATO. U.S. observers note that for Washington these results are so far not comforting. The governments of the overwhelming majority of NATO member-countries do not want to support the U.S. "star wars" plans or are not risking this. At the Atlantic assembly in Stuttgart, the representatives of France, Denmark, and Norway expressed an obviously negative attitude to the much-publicized strategic initiative of Reagan. Describing the situation in Stuttgart, the Bonn paper GENERAL-ANZEIGER writes: Profound concern, confusion, and disagreement characterized the discussion by the European parliamentarians.

It should be said that this mood among the Western European parliamentarians, and not only parliamentarians, is quite understandable. You see, the overwhelming majority of military experts and scientists unanimously warn: The realization of Reagan's strategic initiative, despite attempts to present it as defensive, would lead to a new and even more dangerous spiral in the arms race and would intensify the threat of nuclear war. During a debate in the British House of Lords, it was pointed out that the U.S. plans for preparing for "star wars" are already exerting a destabilizing influence on the strategic military situation in the world. Bearing this in mind, the Danish parliament has made it incumbent on the government to come out against the country's participation in the realization of Washington's space program. The Belgian Government considered it necessary to publicly refute U.S. reports that it has agreed to take part in the implementation of this program. At a meeting of Western European Union parliamentarians, which has just opened in Paris, the decision has been made to defer an examination of the question of taking part in Reagan's strategic initiative until at least December of this year.

Of course, all the indications are that the Washington initiators of "star wars" will continue exerting pressure on their allies, but, at the same time, it should not be overlooked that the dangerous plans for the militarization of space are arousing increasing concern and opposition throughout the whole world.

Carrington Expresses Doubts

LD171715 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0606 GMT 17 May 85

[["Doubts' of the NATO Boss"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 17 May (TASS) -- TASS commentator Stanislav Bychkov writes:

NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington permitted himself to express a certain "doubt" about the ability of Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) "rapidly" to ensure the "security" of Western Europe." Speaking at the Royal United Services Institute in London, ASSOCIATED PRESS reports, he called on the European members of the NATO bloc "not to link all their hopes...too soon" with the American "star wars" program.

It seems incredible! Has this lord, renowned for his "hawkish" views, really recognized how fatal for the security of the peoples any stepping up of military activity is? Perhaps he has understood that militarization of space substantially increases the threat of war such that there will be salvation for no one? Or has lucidity come upon him and transformed him in a "dove" overnight? Not at all... [TASS ellipsis] His "doubts" are not dictated by the causes which rouse peace supporters to protest the Pentagon plans to take nuclear missiles and other weapons into orbit around the earth. They are caused by quite different considerations.

Carrington is worried that West European generals, putting their trust in Washington's "space shield," will consign current militaristic preparations to oblivion: They will stop increasing arsenals of conventional weapons, deploying missiles, and stockpiling nuclear warheads... [TASS ellipsis] "We should," he warned, "be careful and not count our strategic chickens before they hatch, and we should support...the technical bases of our current strategy until we are convinced that a better replacement has been found for them." Lest -- God forbid! -- the White House should interpret this caution as lack of confidence in the United States' space fist, the NATO boss called on Washington to say a firm "no" at the Geneva talks to demands to consider all problems of nuclear and space weapons together.

Thus, Carrington's "doubts" about the SDI leave no doubt that he remains, as he was, a "hawk". His concern is that not a single, even the most rusty, shell from the NATO arsenal should go to waste, whatever new types of weapons are invented by the warmongers.

Remains SDI 'Zealous Advocate'

LD171423 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 17 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 17 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

Lord Carrington, NATO secretary general, has again appeared as a herald of "close cooperation" of the North Atlantic bloc member-countries in developing and producing weapons. He even claimed that this cooperation would serve "towards a more effective use of the common resources of these countries".

Speaking at the London-based Defence Research Institute on Thursday, Lord Carrington was pretending to be speaking on behalf of the NATO West European members. He could not but reckon with the negative attitude to Washington's "star wars" programme in many West European countries, where the plans to militarise outer space meet with serious opposi-

tion not only among the public, but also among the political circles, notwithstanding strong U.S. pressure. Therefore, Lord Carrington urged not to indulge in exaggeration as regards the so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative" of the White House.

We should not count our strategic chickens before they grow up, he said. Yet Lord Carrington by no means expresses any doubt as regards that programme. He has been and remains its zealous advocate. To leave no doubt on that score, he even calls for saying "no" at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, if the USSR, as he said, continues insisting on examining the issues concerning nuclear and space weapons in their close interconnection, to put it plain, not to stop even at cancelling the mutually agreed basis for these talks for the sake of pushing through the American plans for a militarisation of outer space.

Against this background Lord Carrington's ambition to pose for a mouthpiece of the West European NATO member countries looks simply odious, since they in the West European capitals do not conceal that they have a stake in continuing the Geneva talks and reaching agreement at them.

There is a simple reason behind this stance of the NATO secretary general. It agrees well with the policy of Washington, which demands from its NATO allies that they further build up both nuclear and conventional weapons and participates in the deployment of new weapons systems with space-based elements.

FRG, Japanese Involvement

PM210811 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 85 First Edition p 5

[Yuriy Kharlanov "Commentator's Column": "Harnessing Them to a New Chariot"]

[Text] Speaking in the West German Bundestag the other day, Chancellor Kohl reported that he had discussed with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone the question of Washington's "star wars" program. The two of them agreed to cooperate closely and coordinate the positions of the FRG and Japan with regard to participation in the research which the project provides for.

At the same time, a conference was taking place in West Germany involving government officials and leading representatives of a number of firms, concerns, and scientific research institutes to discuss U.S. plans for the militarization of space. Although official statements are being made in Bonn and Tokyo to the effect that nothing has finally been decided yet, the facts show that the two countries' leaders are actively urging their "captains of industry" to join the United States in the development of space weapons.

Washington's envoys who have visited Western Europe and Japan recently, including General Abrahamson who is responsible for the "star wars" program, have brought with them, according to newspaper reports, a portfolio of specific orders for scientific research establishments and concerns in the allied countries. They are lured by promises of future gigantic profits and the possibility of access to "the most advanced U.S. technology." However, the terms for this "access" are still subject to numerous reservations. The point is that for Washington's partners, participation in the "star wars" program will be not only of a subordinate nature, but actually humiliating. Abrahamson stated frankly that the allies will be permitted

to take part only in that part of the research and development not regarded as secret. If the participants go to the United States, they will be obliged to undergo humiliating checks from the security services. Lastly, in any event the allied firms will only be involved in developing individual components of the "star wars" weapons, often without knowing where and for what purpose they will be used.

The White House incumbent himself, in a talk with French President Mitterrand, stated that the U.S. partners "are invited" to take part in the program only as "subcontractors," which annoyed the French side. That is understandable, since it is a question of a highly dubious "exchange" that the United States is foisting on the West European countries and Japan. Of course, the illusory "benefits" are in no way comparable with the obvious fact that the adventurist "star wars" venture will quite definitely lead to a huge new spiral in the arms race and a sharp exacerbation of international tension.

FRG Ambivalence Stressed

LD221803 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 22 May 85

[TASS headline: "Bonn's Space Bridge"]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS -- By TASS political news analyst Aleksey Grigoryev:

There is a cunning little colloquialism in the German. The word is "jein" which is a hybrid of "ja" and "nein", yes and no. Lately, it has been used fairly frequently in the diplomatic vocabulary of official Bonn.

The point at issue is whether the Federal Republic of Germany will join Reagan's notoriously known "Strategic Defense Initiative" [SDI] which Washington is trying to pass off as a "research program", whether giant arms manufacturing concerns of the Ruhr region and Bavaria will be involved in full in preparations for "star wars". Back on April 18 the West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in the Bundestag: "From our point of view the U.S. research program is justified, it is politically necessary and it comes in line with the security interests of the West". This means -- yes.

Peter Boenisch, official spokesman for the West German Government, reaffirmed that at a meeting with newsmen right after Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan met for the first time during the latter's recent visit to the F.R.G. However, it was no other than Boenisch who told newsmen, and again in Bonn: "Reports that Helmut Kohl allegedly gave President Reagan consent to the participation in research within the framework of the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' are not correct". The answer is no?

And still there is no trace of ambiguity here. Kohl assured Reagan that the Federal Republic of Germany would participate in the "star wars" program, while his pronouncements that "Bonn advocates "a common concept with other Western European partners" [quotation marks as received] do not mean in the least any pre-condition for West Germany's consent to take part in Reagan's initiative, the well-informed West German magazine, DER SPIEGEL, writes.

It does not take much to see behind Kohl's stance on that matter the payment for the gift served to him in Bitburg: The blasphemous ceremony of laying wreaths on the graves of members of Waffen SS was devised to boost nationalism and revanchism which have always been an essential part of political capital of Kohl's party -- the CDU.

However, the ruling quarters of the Federal Republic of Germany have somewhat more important stimuli and many more far-reaching plans linked with the participation in getting ready for "star wars". An apt and clear remark on that matter came from President Francois Mitterrand of France who stressed that the temptation of taking part in that program was explained by the possibility for the F.R.G. to circumvent the restrictions which were a consequence of the Second World War.

It is common knowledge that the only such restriction as far as the F.R.G. is concerned covers possession of nuclear weapons. By its recent decisions the Western European Union permitted Bonn to produce strategic bombers, combat ships, missiles and other types of modern military hardware. There is no 'green light' only on the road toward nuclear weapons. But this road may well pass through the space bridge. And as soon as the very first step is made along it, the cunning word, "jein", and other diplomatic tricks will be instantaneously discarded.

FRG Defense Minister Favorable

LD242023 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 24 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS -- TASS commentator Leonid Ponomarev writes:

When speaking in a Bundestag debate on the FRG's participation in the American "star wars" programme the West German Defence Minister Woerner called this programme a "justified and politically necessary step". He used rather threadbare contentions about the mythical Soviet military superiority over the West to substantiate his position.

In the opinion of many American specialists, as well as officials in Washington, the "Strategic Defense Initiative" proposed by President Reagan is a programme of preparations for war with the use of the latest types of weapons, including space weapons, in other words offensive, or first strike arms.

Referring to the opinion of John Rather from the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, a well known American specialist on lasers and a champion of "star wars", THE NEW YORK TIMES notes that when the laser system, which is a component part of the SDI, is created and deployed for defensive purposes, hardly any additional investments will be needed to use this system for offensive purposes. Should the need arise urgently to destroy a multitude of targets almost simultaneously, the paper quotes John Rather as saying, laser weapons would be the most suitable for this.

One does not have to be a big specialist to understand that the words "to destroy a multitude of targets simultaneously" mean nothing but the delivery of the first nuclear strike. It is precisely this sinister "mechanism" that forms the nucleus of Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative". From its first day in office the present United States Administration strives for superiority over the USSR. As to the word defence as applied to SDI it merely serves as a screen to conceal the plans to militarise outer space. The ASSOCIATED PRESS writes that Reagan keeps talking about the danger of a Soviet first strike in order to justify the continuation of work on his SDI programme. And the programme, the AP continues, is no longer connected with utopian notions, that is assurances to make nuclear missiles impotent and obsolete. In this connection American specialists openly say that the most obvious possibility to use the SDI is to employ it as a nuclear strike "appendage".

So the question arises -- why does the FRG Defence Minister Woerner believe that the militarisation of outer space and the creation by the United States and other allies of a potential to deliver a first strike against the Soviet Union, including from outer space, is a "justified and necessary step"? For the Soviet Union has officially announced that it is strictly abiding by the timeless ABM Treaty of 1972 and not creating strike space weapons or an ABM defence of its territory.

It appears that some people in Bonn's official circles would like to solidarise in this matter with the revanchist forces in their country who would want to draw the FRG into the race in the manufacture of the most modern weapons, including the militarisation of outer space.

Those who champion the "star wars" programme should clearly realise that the creation of strike space weapons will inevitably still further diminish the security of the United States and its allies. The Soviet Union comes out against the militarisation of outer space and is doing everything to stop the arms race and totally destroy nuclear weapons everywhere.

FRG Politician Urges Renouncement

LD202104 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Bonn May 20 TASS--TASS correspondent Sergey Sosnovskiy reports:

Egon Bahr, a prominent figure of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and chairman of the Bundestag subcommittee for disarmament and control over armaments, who heads the Hamburg institute for the study of international problems, has opposed West Germany's participation in the U.S. so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative."

The developments within the framework of Reagan's "initiative" will be largely military-oriented, he wrote in an article, which he contributed to the Social-Democratic weekly VORWAERTS. The respective report, submitted by the Pentagon to the U.S. Congress, he said, includes 15 key items, of which only 4 can be of definite interest from the civilian point of view. The remaining 11 items have exclusively military applications. So, the case in point is a new weapon, a strategic one, in the development and creation of which West Germany should take part, Egon Bahr stressed.

In this connection, he recalled West Germany's contractual obligations, under which the Federal Republic of Germany was banned from possessing nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, and restrictions were imposed on the production of some types of conventional weapons. Those obligations were not cancelled by anybody, they remain in effect. But the matter at issue now is new strategic armaments, which nobody prohibited West Germany to possess, since nobody could even imagine space weapons in the 50's. This brings about a qualitatively new situation when it becomes possible for the Federal Republic of Germany to possess strategic weaponry, which, in turn, threatens to entail far-reaching political sequels, Egon Bahr pointed out.

The author of the article expressed doubt that West Germany's participation in the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" would open up for it access to advanced technology.

The response to the U.S. "initiative" can be and should be only in the negative, since participation in this "initiative" runs counter to West German national interests and assigns to it the role of a supplier of scientific and technical thought and funds to the United States. Bonn should renounce the participation in the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative," Egon Bahr stressed.

Thatcher Statement Criticized

LD241921 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 24 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS -- TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Addressing a conference of women supporters of the Conservative Party in London the Prime Minister of Britain Margaret Thatcher assumed the unseemly role of advertiser of the American "star wars" programme. The West German magazine STERN once described such "promoters" as "Reagan's diligent and obedient pupils."

The British prime minister declared that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" should be calmly and soberly studied, all its pros and cons. And immediately afterwards, contrary to logic, she groundlessly declared the American programme an attempt to find a more reliable basis of peace and contended that this programme is not directed at inventing new instruments of war or at increasing the total number of arms. Since when, may one ask, have the missiles that it is intended to deploy on the ground and on satellites, the laser guns and other "exotic" types of arms ceased to be weapons?

The use of all these strike space weapons is conceived in Washington with the aim of achieving decisive military superiority and acquiring a first-strike potential so as to become invulnerable. Washington does not like the military balance with the Soviet Union and for this reason is now looking for an opportunity of disrupting it via outer space. And how is one to classify contentions that there is nothing special about militarising outer space: One might think that being drawn into a space arms race is a customary matter for Britain.

In her speech there sounded the call that the accent should be made on the word defence. What can one say to this? Regardless of how you call a new militaristic scheme, its essence will not change and it will still remain dangerous. And no "accents" can camouflage its prime purpose - to create an anti-missile shield while continuing the deployment of first-strike strategic offensive weapons intended to strike targets on land, at sea, in the atmosphere and in outer space. All this will bring about a situation when somebody in Washington might become tempted by the protection offered by the space shield to take a risk and strike at the USSR and its allies with nuclear and space weapons.

To make such "substantiations" of the "star wars" concept, that were borrowed from Washington, more "persuasive", the head of the British Government had to use the threadbare argument about the "Soviet threat"

She said that the time might once come when the Soviet Union will know that it can stop the West's nuclear arms while the West will not be able to do the same with its nuclear arms. As if not the United States but the Soviet Union is planning to commence large-scale preparations for "star wars" as well.

As to her remark that the West should not allow the possibility of creating the strategic defence to undermine existing agreements with the Soviet Union in the field of arms control, it should be remembered that already now the United States is placing in jeopardy the ABM Treaty which, as it is widely recognised in the world, is the cornerstone of the process of arms limitation.

French Government's Stand Questioned

LD182312 Moscow in French to France and Belgium 1930 GMT 18 May 85

[Commentary by Boris Tumanov]

[Excerpts] Good evening dear listeners. France's official refusal to participate in the project of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] extolled by the U.S. Administration, has not put an end to the speculation about the extent and nature of French opposition to the "star wars" plans. Certainly, Paris has already officially expressed its principled position on the militarization of space and the extension of the arms race to space, but that does not prevent French officials from recognizing at the same time that the problem of defense will, sooner or later, inevitably be linked with space.

Roland Dumas stated at Limoges that in the economic field Europe will not be a subcontractor to the United States, as wished by President Reagan in Bonn, within the framework of his campaign for the participation of the West European countries in the SDI. But even if Paris officially refuses this role, certain big private French companies, such as Thomson, have already signed a contract for cooperation with the U.S. companies taking part in the "star wars" program. In any case, a U.S. ambassador in France, Evan Galbraith, who will certainly never be capable of conforming to the requirements of the job, has once again ventured to interpret French policy by asserting that the statement by French officials on the refusal to join the Strategic Defense Initiative in fact only referred to the official participation of the French Government in this program. Galbraith also expressed his certainty that France would continue to participate in the "star wars" plan through its companies. Is there a better way of finding out the intentions of the French Government than through the prime minister's office?

In the meantime, France proposes the peaceful space technology research program "Eureka" to its West European partners. According to official Paris, this program, if it is accepted by the others, is designed to permit Western Europe to respond in a worthy fashion to the U.S. and Japanese technical challenge.

One has the right to wonder what France will do if it does not manage to interest its West European partners in this project? This question is all the more imperative when one knows that France signed the statement in Bonn approving the U.S. attitude at the Geneva talks, at which the U.S. representatives obstruct any attempt at constructive discussions on space weapons. It seems that in this specific case, the considerations of Atlantic solidarity take precedence over the increasing concern of the European partners of the United States which are faced with the political and military danger they see in the Strategic Defense Initiative of President Reagan.

U.S.-French Differences Highlighted

LD201814 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 20 May 85

[From the "World Today" program presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Text] A session of NATO's military planning committee is opening in Brussels. Caspar Weinberger, the Pentagon boss, has already arrived in the Belgian capital to apply pressure on America's allies and make them not merely unconditionally support Washington's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative, but to take an active part in its implementation. The Reagan "Star Wars" program has given rise to serious fears and concern even among the U.S.'s NATO partners. In particular, this has been convincingly shown by the big seven's recent meeting in Bonn. A number of Washington's allies are convinced that implementation of the space militarization program will lead to a sharp escalation in the arms race, and to the arms race being carried into space. In order to break resistance to this dangerous program, Weinberger intends to resort to the favorite American "carrot and stick" tactic at the NATO military planning committee session. According to some reports, he has brought a list of numerous contracts linked with preparations for "Star Wars" to Brussels which the White House is willing to make available to the allies if they are compliant. Another important part of Weinberger's mission is to win the allies' confirmation that the plans for the deployment of the American medium-range missiles in Western Europe will continue to be implemented in accordance with the timetable.

There are particularly substantial differences regarding the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative between the United States and France. Claude Cheysson, the French Government's former minister of external relations, has stated that the policy being implemented by the American administration corresponds to U.S. interests and is based upon imperial concepts. Using the example of the White House plan for Star Wars preparations, Cheysson noted that it is the White House that determines the basic directions of policy, which the countries of Western Europe are subsequently obliged to adhere to. Cheysson stressed that President Reagan's recent trip to Western Europe did not give rise to the enthusiasm there upon which the American administration had been counting.

In the meantime, work is proceeding in the United States within the framework of the widespread antimissile defense system that incorporates elements based in space. The NEW YORK TIMES has reported that research into laser devices is being carried out at the Ernest Lawrence Radiation Laboratory. Methods of focusing a pencil of laser rays are being tested at a nuclear testing site in the state of Nevada. The newspaper points out that the development of devices, the action of which is based upon using the energy of nuclear explosions, is being carried out under the leader of Teller, who is known in America as the father of the hydrogen bomb. Teller is a strong supporter for building up the U.S.'s nuclear potential. According to a newsday report, a number of corporations have already received the first 10 contracts for research work within the framework of the Star Wars program.

5 July 1985

Belgian 'Alarm' Reported

PM280909 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 85 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by V. Drobkov, correspondent, under the general heading "Well-founded Alarm"]

[Text] Brussels, 25 May -- In recent days, discussion has flared up with new force in Belgium on what stance the country will take with regard to the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI), better known as "star wars," which has been announced by U.S. President R. Reagan. On the one hand, the series of contradictory actions and statements by Belgian Government spokesmen, and on the other hand, the mounting pressure on Brussels from Washington, were a kind of catalyst that triggered a stormy reaction.

The arguments about whether Brussels ought to accept the U.S. "invitation" to be involved in elaborating the "star wars" program have long been under way over here. The leading parties in the democratic opposition have already opposed the country's involvement in the transatlantic militarists' dangerous new venture. At the same time, a number of statements by Prime Minister W. Martens and Minister of External Affairs L. Tindemans have expressed, as the local press is testifying, clear support for SDI.

It has reached the point that U.S. General J. Abrahamson, the "main proponent" of the "star wars" program, who recently visited Brussels, gave Belgian ministers a long lecture on the need to become involved as quickly as possible with the Pentagon's efforts to militarize space and proposed a specific list of projects and developments for them. Several days ago, a U.S. State Department spokesman publicly stated in Washington that the Belgian Government had allegedly consented to join in the "star wars" program.

When this news reached Brussels, it caused a scandal. Belgians, as the local press is reporting, have for the umpteenth time learned of their own government's actions from U.S. news agency reports. Brussels newspapers recalled that it was the same story quite recently with cruise missiles, whose deployment in mid-March was first reported by the Americans. Prime Minister W. Martens and Minister of National Defense E. Vreven hastened to refute the report from U.S. sources. The latter even stated that the U.S. State Department spokesman's report was a "slip of the tongue" and those who strive to "present dreams as reality" were to blame.

However, the minister's refutations did not ease the Belgian public's alarm. Immediately after the scandal with the latest transatlantic "slip of the tongue," many parliamentarians demanded that the government take no final decisions on "star wars" without holding exhaustive debates in Parliament.

Carrington Appeal to Dutch

LD251457 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0755 GMT 25 May 85

[TASS headline: "Washington's 'Advocate' From NATO"]

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (TASS) -- TASS commentator Valeriy Kostylev writes:

NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington has made another attempt to justify the Reagan administration's militarist course. Speaking on Friday at the Dutch Atlantic Committee, he tried in every way to prove the need to deploy U.S. first-strike missiles in a number of West European countries. In particular, the lord called upon his audience to do everything to ensure that 48 American cruise missiles are deployed on Dutch territory. As an argument to 'justify' NATO's 'two-track decision', the bloc's secretary general brought out the hackneyed argument of the so-called 'Soviet threat'. At the same time, NATO's 'advocate' took on the defense of the American 'Strategic Defense Initiative'.

As is known, the Netherlands Government, under the influence of the powerful antiwar movement, has not yet taken a final decision on the deployment of U.S. missiles on its territory. For this reason, the matter will be discussed again in the Dutch Parliament at the end of this year. Official Washington has expressed open dissatisfaction with the Netherlands' position and has made clear that it intends to continue to seek the Dutch authorities' agreement to the missile deployment.

The words of the NATO secretary general, who has voluntarily taken on the role of Washington's advocate, is the best confirmation of this.

Negative Turkish Commentary Noted

PM151511 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 85 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by A. Filippov, correspondent, under the general heading "Joining in the 'Star Wars' Plans"]

[Text] Ankara, 6 May--A commentary published in the newspaper CUMHURIYET says that the U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger is insisting that Turkey "join in" the Pentagon's "Star Wars" project. This ominous and absurd plan, which requires colossal material expenditure, is absolutely unacceptable to Turkey, the commentary points out. One wonders why Turkey, which is experiencing unprecedented financial and economic disorders, should take part in the arms race in space which will aggravate an already heated international atmosphere?

Turkey has many urgent concerns of its own, the newspaper notes. It must improve the population's living standard, combat unemployment, and develop mutually beneficial business relations with various countries, particularly with its neighbors.

Arabic Broadcast on Israeli Participation

LD061946 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1530 GMT 6 May 85

[Text] The United States and Israel are preparing to raise their aggressive strategic alliance to a new level. Plans were made according to which a number of Israeli universities will take part in dealing with some aspects of the American space missiles program. As is known, the Washington administration intends to achieve with this program a new leap in the arms race by taking it into space. The Israeli Government is trying to continue public opinion that Tel Aviv will only work on the scientific side and that it will draw neither the country nor the region into the coming Star Wars. But the Zionists' plans in fact go greatly beyond special studies, as they strive hard for their own space weapons. As is known, during the bestial aggression against the Lebanese and the Palestinian people in the summer of 1982, Tel Aviv received reconnaissance data gathered by American reconnaissance satellites. The weekly AL-MUSTAQBAL reported that the Israeli militarists intend now to use their own space installation for these purposes. In 1984, Israeli and American companies signed an agreement according to which the Americans will provide assistance to the Israelis in the financing, manufacturing and launching of a satellite equipped with intelligence instruments. In the future a space airport for the launching of satellites by means of Israeli missiles will be built in the Negev. Meanwhile, an American-Israeli space intelligence center is being built near Jerusalem. The American militarists and Tel Aviv's generals, who are rushing to cover the region with their nuclear umbrella in space, plan to use this center. And as was confirmed by realists in the various countries, the militarization of space is the most dangerous step on the road to the eruption of an international nuclear war. The irresponsible support of these plans by the Zionists is not confirmed to making the Pentagon's aggressive intentions easier rather, according to the Jordanian AL-RA'Y, threatens to transform the Middle East into an arena for the coming Star Wars, with all its consequences. And despite the fact that the time for implementing Star Wars is still far, the danger of new aggressions by the Zionists is now evident as a result of the new American-Israeli plans. Starting now, the Pentagon's collusion with the Zionists is reflected in a [word indistinct] manner on the balance of power in the region. It is known that the United States pays generously for any step by Israel along the road of strengthening the aggressive strategic cooperation. Hardly had Israel given its agreement to take part in Reagan's space missiles program, the U.S. Navy Secretary Lehman announced that the Pentagon [words indistinct] the Israel sea-to-sea missiles, patrol boats and submarines. This plan which facilitates the [word indistinct] of the Zionists to carry out new military adventures is calculated for several years and will cost the two partners in the anti-Arab alliance \$1 billion. In addition, Tel Aviv's agreement to participate in the American Star Wars program [words indistinct] to allocate an additional \$1.5 billion as extraordinary economic aid to Israel. The involvement of Israel in the Americans' arms race in space can only influence Tel Aviv's attitude to a settlement in the Middle East. This reality makes the Zionists more intransigent and insolent. When they feel to a greater extent the support and assistance given them by American imperialism, it will be much more difficult to force them to accept a just solution to the problems of the region. But it seems that this is what they are hoping for in Washington.

CSO: 5200/1173

SPACE ARMS

USSR: MAY COMMENTARIES ASSAILING SDI

'Dramatically' Increases War Danger

LD081513 Moscow World Service in English 0610 GMT 8 May 85

[Text] In a bid to justify their plans to militarize space, American administration officials claim that the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative is but a research program, threatening nobody. Here is a commentary by Viktor Olin.

The same argument was repeated on Monday by a spokesman for the State Department. He said that the United States might not deploy antisatellite and anti-missile weapons if the research proved it unfeasible. Statements to this effect repeated day after day are clearly aimed at distracting public attention from the dangerous consequences of the Star Wars program and at giving impetus for its implementation. But the final goal of the Strategic Defense Initiative, which is to deploy attack offensive weapons in space, has been planned in advance. This was clearly indicated earlier this year by the defense secretary, Caspar Weinberger, who ruled out the possibility of refusing to establish strategic defense either in the phase of research or in the phase of deployment.

The administration is acting accordingly. It has announced that the advisability of the Star Wars program will be decided by those who expect to gain most from it. These are aerospace concerns; such as Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, Rockwell International and others. It would be naive to presume that they will be content with the \$60 billion set aside for the research program over the next 10 years and will refuse to have a finger in the pie of more than \$1 trillion which will be the cost of putting weapons in space. Therefore, in the opinion of the New York based Council on Economic Priorities, a crucial factor in deciding the Star Wars issue will be financial profit and not the interests of national security.

The security of the United States and its allies can't be improved by the deployment of what are claimed to be defensive, but what really are attack offensive, weapons in space. Their aim will be not to defend their populations but to provide a space shield for first strike nuclear arms. This would breed the illusion of security from retaliation and might greatly increase the temptation of attacking the Soviet Union and its allies with nuclear and space weapons.

As a result, the Soviet Union would have no choice but take countermeasures. They may be both of a defensive and offensive nature. Thus the Strategic Defense Initiative would only escalate the arms race and create the threat of its running out of control. It would undermine existing agreements and prevent the reaching of new ones. Altogether this would dramatically increase the danger of nuclear war. It is obvious that the proponents of Star Wars are interested not at all in protection against a nuclear missile attack, but in the possibility of deploying an offensive potential in space, with which to conduct nuclear intimidation against the Soviet Union and other countries.

Congressman's Critical Letter Noted

LD110636 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 11 May 85

[Text] New York May 11 TASS--The true aim of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is to build up U.S. first nuclear strike capability rather than protect the American people from nuclear war, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, an influential American public organization, said in a statement here. The "Star Wars" program, it added, was extremely dangerous and provocative in nature. Its implementation would aggravate tension in U.S.-Soviet relations and seriously undermine arms control efforts, the statement said.

Adolphus Towns of the House of Representatives, meanwhile, urged the Reagan administration to adopt immediate measures to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space. He said in a letter to the American President that, unlike the United States, the USSR had submitted at the United Nations a draft international treaty banning antisatellite weapons. The USSR also complied with its 2-year unilateral moratorium on the testing of such systems. The inactivity of the American Government in that respect arose serious doubts about the U.S. commitment to international peace and further effective efforts in the field of arms control. An agreement on space weaponry in the meantime, the congressman said, would be in the best national interests of the United States.

Weinberger 'Fantasy' of Defense

PM171048 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 85 Second Edition p 3

[Article by TASS military commentator Vladimir Chernyshev: "Pentagon's Fantasy About 'Star Wars'"]

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger has granted an interview to THE WASHINGTON TIMES and devoted it to "justifying" the U.S. plans for the militarization of space, plans which the famous U.S. science-fiction writer, I. Asimov, has called "poor fantasy in the style of the Hollywood films."

This definition by Asimov can be fully applied not only to the very essence of the Pentagon's "star wars" but also to those "arguments" which the head of the U.S. military department uses. The extent to which Mr Weinberger "outdid" the unscientific science-fiction writers themselves can be judged by, if nothing else, his allegation that the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" does not "in any sense constitute a weapon system."

With pathos worthy of a more serious application, he declared that "it is not part of the arms race. It is not an armaments system at all. It is not even a weapon." The way he goes on, you would think that the Pentagon is intending to deploy vases of flowers in space, to erect a barrier made out of fragrant-smelling jasmine bushes in space. It transpires that the offensive space weapons being designed as part of the "star wars" program -- the laser weapons, the electro-magnetic guns, and missiles, hundreds of which are earmarked for deployment on hundreds of space platforms -- are not weapons at all, in Washington's view. However, the minister's subordinates, who are evidently not so fond of science fiction as their boss, are more frank in their formulation of the tasks of the "Strategic Defense Initiative." For example, Gen R. Marsh of the U.S. Air Force, bluntly stated some time ago that "we must secure the ability to wage war from earth against targets in space, from space installations against other space installations, and from space against the earth." How can one forget the words of Senator B. Goldwater who, at the very beginning of the space era, demanded that weapon systems, which would make it possible to strike the Soviet Union in a fraction of a second, be deployed in space.

However, the present head of the Pentagon naturally avoids making such frank demands. Furthermore, he says that the things specialists and politicians who oppose Washington's highly dangerous venture are now saying and writing about "star wars" "reflect traditional thinking." The "Strategic Defense Initiative," he says, "is such a revolutionary concept that it is difficult for people to adapt their way of thinking to understand it."

The minister is being sly. He is uttering the fine phrases about "a revolutionary concept" in an attempt to conceal the U.S. Administration's concern that very many people, not just in other countries but also in the United States itself, correctly understand the true nature of this dangerous concept. They realize that the administration certainly does not intend to "adjust its thinking," which is based on the dream of world domination. Only the strategy is changing. They did not manage to achieve military supremacy on earth, so now they are trying to accomplish imperial ambitions by adding offensive space weapons to their offensive nuclear forces. By continuing to forge ahead with the production of strategic offensive weapons and the development of new weapons of this kind -- at the present time alone they are developing two types of ICBM's, ballistic missiles for submarines and two types of heavy bomber -- they are forging the "sword" for inflicting a first nuclear strike. By setting up a "space shield" they hope to neutralize the other side's retaliatory strike; that is, to "knock out" any of its missiles surviving a U.S. first strike in space.

Mr C. Weinberger is unhappy, you realize. He says "there are people who think that any idea of defense is immoral for some reason." He pretends that in our day it is possible to destroy the organic link between offensive and defensive strategic weapons and alleges that this will not upset the balance of strategic forces. It is hard to imagine that the U.S. secretary of defense is not aware of the tragic consequences to which destruction of this link would lead. As it happens, he is deliberately saying things which he does not believe in. After all, it was C. Weinberger himself who once said that if the USSR were to be the first to set up a large-scale ABM system, "this would create a very, very dangerous situation in the world... [elipses as published] This would be very like having a world in which the Russians possess nuclear weapons but the United States does not." So, on closer examination it transpires that, in the view of the Pentagon boss, the U.S. system cannot be described as "immoral" but a Soviet system can be.

"We are not extending the arms race to space," the minister asserted in a manner that left no room for argument. "The Strategic Defense Initiative will render nuclear missiles obsolete... [elipses as published] it will reverse the arms race."

Once again this is fantasy of the worst kind, since it is based on fooling public opinion. Washington is not only steadily improving its offensive nuclear systems, it is also striving to make them capable of penetrating the other side's ABM system. In the same interview C. Weinberger bluntly stated: "Imagine a situation in the world in which they (the Russians) achieved a clear break-through (in the ABM sphere), and our missiles became out-of-date. The entire world would be vulnerable to Soviet political blackmail." Once again the head of the Pentagon wants Soviet missiles to become "out-of-date," whereas he wants the U.S. missiles to be the most up to date.

While creating an ABM system in space, the United States also wants to have a "powerful strategic triad" for inflicting a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union. The Pentagon's document entitled "Defence Directives for 1984-88" sets the following task: In nuclear war the "United States must come out on top and be able to terminate hostilities quickly on U.S. terms." So, who is dreaming of making "the entire world vulnerable" to blackmail? The answer is quite clear.

Why did the head of the Pentagon need to "steal" the laurels of the science fiction writers? In order to encourage the belief that implementing the U.S. "star wars" program is an "irreversible process." He also stressed that President R. Reagan is "absolutely determined" not to allow this program to become a subject for discussion at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva.

The continuation of such a policy would have an extremely negative impact on the military-political situation in the world. It would complicate, if not render impossible, a solution to the problem of reducing nuclear weapons. It would foist a new round in the arms race on the world. It would result in an inevitable reduction in the security of both the United States itself and its allies.

Quest for Superiority Seen

PM220927 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 85 First Edition p 4

[Article by Vitaliy Korionov, political observer: "Determining Force"]

[Excerpt] U.S. imperialist circles view relations with other states through the aperture of a gun's sights. "Peace always has to be built on strength alone" is the White House politicians' main premise. Constant attempts are made to fill Americans' lives with the clang of weapons. As the U.S. historian Lloyd Demause notes, "crudely speaking, once every 22 years this century America has gone to war as though performing a ritual in which the new generation is sacrificed."

The course toward war remains the course of the aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism. Preparations for "Star Wars" are particularly dangerous. Only those who want to be misled can believe that the notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative" is merely innocuous "scientific research." The "Star Wars" plan is as much a "defense initiative" as the MX first-strike nuclear missile is a "peacekeeper."

The peoples have a good memory and they remember that the "Manhattan Project," within whose framework U.S. atomic weapons were created, was also presented as a scientific research project. But who, knowing the irrepressible desire of

the transatlantic "manufacturers of death" for military profits, can believe that they will be satisfied with the scientific research stage and refrain from producing space weapons whose creation promises them truly astronomical profits!

It is no accident that as soon as the USSR and the other socialist countries put forward a new package of widespread peace proposals, the Washington administration, without bothering to study them, declares them to be "propaganda." Washington is evidently reluctant to examine in earnest the initiatives put forward by the socialist policy of peace; instead it seeks artificial pretexts for rejecting them. An alarming fact is emerging: very influential forces in Washington would like to use the current Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva as a screen to conceal their new militarist programs, primarily in space. As the British newspaper THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH notes, "if something does derail the Geneva talks, then it will be the 'Star Wars' program."

The USSR and all the socialist community states are countering the course of sabotaging arms limitation and reduction pursued by the U.S. side with a consistent, purposeful course aimed at ridding mankind of the heavy burden of the arms race and preventing nuclear war.

The socialist community countries are persistently carrying on Lenin's cause of peace. The USSR and its allies played a prime part in creating in the seventies an integral system of treaties which drew a line under World War II and opened the period of relaxation of international tension. The socialist countries' initiative played a decisive role in the rapid convocation of the conference of 35 states in Helsinki. That initiative's positive impact is evident: It is in Europe, over which the tornado of two devastating world wars has passed, that we have succeeded in achieving the most tangible successes in the assertion of the ideas and principles of peaceful coexistence and in the relaxation of tension and the establishment of cooperation and good-neighborliness between states with different social systems.

It was the USSR which issued the proposal to hold new talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons. It embarked on the talks to conduct them honestly and seriously, seeking to reach agreement on important real results, on very large reductions of strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range weapons and to insure peaceful space.

The consistent peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state is an organic component of the socialist foreign policy which the fraternal countries pursue persistently and harmoniously in the world arena.

[PM220929] Upholding the cause of international security, the socialist community countries at the same time are always mindful that an invaluable part is played here by the restraining might of our defense potential. It is now not only a guarantee of the fraternal socialist countries' peaceful constructive labor but also a guarantee of world peace.

For 30 years the Warsaw Pact organization has played the role of the reliable shield of peace and socialism. This treaty is based on the commonality of the socialist countries' economic and sociopolitical system, ideology and morality,

and common interests and aims. Socialist internationalism is a life-giving source which feeds the indestructible friendship of the brother-peoples. The core of our defensive alliance and its living soul consists of the fraternal communist and workers parties, whose banner invariably remains Marxism-Leninism.

In the 3 decades which have elapsed since the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact, much has been done to thwart the designs of the aggressive forces of imperialism. Nonetheless it must be clearly seen that the world is not guaranteed against encroachments by bellicose adventurists. That is why the fraternal countries are united in their resolve to continue, as long as the NATO bloc exists, to strengthen the Warsaw Pact organization--a reliable instrument for preventing nuclear war.

We do not seek military superiority over the United States or any other country. But we will not allow the violation of the military parity which now exists and which is an insuperable barrier on the path of the initiators of military adventures.

The present disposition of forces in the world arena creates real opportunities for thwarting the plans of the imperialist contenders for world rule. Using these opportunities to the full--that is where the peoples and states of the socialist community see their patriotic and international duty.

CSO: 5200/1175

SPACE ARMS

USSR: FRANCE PUSHES EUREKA PROJECT AS ALTERNATIVE TO SDI

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 23, Jun 85 pp 10-11

[Article by V. Gusekov]

[Text] The Bonn summit of seven leading capitalist nations has given much food for comment in Paris on the increased friction between France and the United States. The media close to the government lavishly praised President Mitterrand for his firmness in repulsing the pressure brazenly exerted by President Reagan at that summit. Government officials, too, actively joined the propaganda campaign intended to demonstrate the independence of France's foreign policy course. Home policy considerations are also taken into account here. The parliamentary election is to be held next year, and foreign policy issues will no doubt feature prominently in it.

Paris and Washington do not see eye to eye on some of these issues. While not challenging the leading role of the United States and giving it support in the framing of the West's overall strategy, France has to all intents and purposes taken a realistic stand on Washington's "strategic defence initiative," on world trade and monetary relations, the policy towards Nicaragua, and some other issues.

At the Bonn meeting President Mitterrand refused to back Reagan's "star wars" plan, saying France would not agree to any role in the project that did not assure equal partnership.

Paris has adopted a restrained attitude to the widely publicized "strategic defence initiative" from the day it was announced. The U.S. Administration thought it was beneath its dignity even to inform the French Government of its intentions. Washington's groundless claims that realization of "star wars" project will eliminate war were received in Paris with frank scepticism.

"Back in March 1983, President Reagan linked the strategic defence initiative with a prospect that surprised the Europeans," Defense Minister Charles Hernu noted with irony. "He indicated that the development of new defence systems will make nuclear arms, I quote 'obsolete and useless.' Is there a responsible politician who would not be against the use of nuclear arms? But I do not know whether the goal set by President Reagan can ever be attained. The Americans themselves admit they are unable to guarantee that. Yet what are they doing? They are actively continuing the modernization of their nuclear capacity-- MX missiles, B-1 bombers and Trident missiles for submarines. It is a programme covering a period ending in the year 2010!"

Hence France's conclusion that the "star wars" programme has a destabilizing effect. The Minister for External Relations Roland Dumas believes that the use of outer space under the American plan amounts, in effect, to super-armament. The "strategic defence initiative," he pointed out, heightens the danger of a nuclear conflict. France does not approve of the arms race, especially in outer space, Dumas said. Paris does not conceal that the "strategic defence initiative" conflicts with its military doctrine of nuclear deterrent and, hence, may prove detrimental to the national interests of France.

French political circles are no less worried about the economic, scientific and technical consequences of the "star wars" programme. By earmarking the huge sum of \$26 billion for this programme, in the period up to 1989, the United States hopes to use the industrial and intellectual potential of France and other West European countries in its own geopolitical interests and, in the long run, to occupy a dominant position in such advanced branches as optics, electronics, laser technology and informatics. As for Europeans, they are assigned the role of subcontractors and junior partners.

The support of the "star wars" plan would ultimately turn Western Europe into a U.S. satellite and make it dependent on American industry. It would result in France losing its economic and political independence. The experience of Atlantic cooperation in space exploration has convincingly demonstrated that the United States is interested in the technical achievements of its partners but has no intention of passing on American technology to them. By inviting West European countries to take part in "star wars" research, Washington is trying to draw them into a plan the realization of which will be controlled by the United States.

How to neutralize or at least weaken Washington's challenge? The French Government sees such a possibility in joint action by the European Economic Community. It calls on the partners to work out a strong common position so that the voice of Europe may make itself heard at the present crucial stage.

In this Paris lays claim to the role of leader. The chief aim of the Eureka project advanced by President Mitterrand in April of this year is to draw up a common scientific and technological policy of the West European countries and to prevent the brain drain to the United States. In the opinion of Hubert Curien, minister of research and technology, Eureka covers practically all the problems vitally important for the progress of space technology. No less than 230 billion francs will be required to carry out this ambitious plan. Paris says Eureka is a purely civilian, not military, project. However, the borderline between space research and the use of space research for military purposes is extremely vague.

Besides having a political aspect, which is unlikely to attract all West European countries, Eureka offers broader opportunities than the "strategic defence initiative" in the field of practical application. Its chief merit is that it opens wide prospects for civilian branches. It is believed in France that the best way to make Eureka attractive for big companies is to bring it as close as possible to the needs of the market and to define a concrete policy for the branches included in this programme. Such an approach meets the needs of West European industry, which lags behind U.S. industry in the field of research and production.

At the last session of the Western European Union (France, West Germany, Britain, Italy and the Benelux countries) Paris suggested that its members jointly consider ways of organizing and financing the Eureka project. But the response to this proposal was cool. Paris was disappointed most of all by Bonn's reserved attitude, as it had hoped that the green light to Eureka would be ensured by the Franco-West German tandem, for the two countries, with their powerful economic potential and political influence, form the backbone of the Common Market.

The French Government reacted painfully to Bonn's conduct at the seven nations' meeting at which Helmut Kohl openly supported the American plans of using outer space for military purposes. West Germany, French officials say with irritation, has stabbed Eureka in the back and undercut the attempts to step up the building of Europe. Paris is concerned over the West German stand also because participation in Reagan's "star wars" programme would give Bonn access to the latest systems of weapons, including nuclear weapons, in disregard of the relevant bans. The West German ally cum rival could gain advantages over France and other EEC countries and lay claim to military and political leadership in the community.

To patch up the differences, Paris and Bonn agreed to hold a special top-level meeting at the end of May. At this summit Paris intends to take steps with a view to pushing the Eureka project forward. It is in something of a hurry because the United States has already established direct contacts with some large French firms in an attempt to draw them into their space plans and, using the great political influence of these firms, to exert pressure on the government. News analysts do not exclude the possibility that France may try to link Eureka with "star wars." The gap between the two plans could be bridged.

The Bonn meeting of seven capitalist countries also brought into the open the Franco-American friction in trade and monetary relations. For several years now Paris has been criticizing the United States for the inflated exchange rate of the dollar and high interest rates which are seriously undermining the French economy, checking economic growth rates and causing financial problems. At the Bonn summit Washington exerted strong pressure on its allies to get them to agree to a new round of talks early next year within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This was done on the pretext of combating protectionism and liberalizing international trade.

In reality, Washington itself is disorganizing international economic relations. "The United States is offering to hold talks on liberalization while raising protectionist barriers to European products, as was recently the case with steel pipes." This statement of Edith Cresson, the minister of foreign trade and tourism, expresses the essence of American policy.

France's negative attitude to trade talks within the GATT framework is explained by the desire to protect the interests of its agriculture which are totally ignored by the United States. At the Bonn summit France found itself in isolation. Its EEC partners, first of all West Germany, hastened to meet the wishes of their powerful overseas patron. Commenting on the results of the discussion, Roland Dumas admitted that the "European engine" stalled at the Bonn summit, and said that Helmut Kohl deviated from the common path in his striving to be a genial host to Ronald Reagan.

The entire complex of these problems will be in the focus of attention at the June meeting of the Ten in Milan, where the strength of Franco-West German alliance will be put to the test once again. Jacques Attali, the French President's adviser, said: "In Milan we shall have an opportunity to check whether Europe will be able to regain its unity on issues of vital importance for its future."

No sooner had the leaders of seven capitalist countries gone home from the Bonn meeting than Washington began to accuse France of being recalcitrant. Circles close to the White House are voicing disappointment with the stand taken by President Mitterrand. It is a familiar pattern: Every time France stands for its own interests in the international arena, Washington is resentful. For the United States favours only those who readily support its militarist course and policy of diktat.

CSO: 5200/1232

SPACE ARMS

SOVIET PRESS REPORTS ON SDI TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS

'Clever Shells' Being Developed

LD131143 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 13 May 85

[Text] Washington May 13 TASS--The Pentagon is speeding up work within the framework of the notorious "Star Wars" program to establish a large-scale antimissile defence system with space-based elements.

The head of the organisation for implementation of that program, Lieutenant General James Abrahamsen, writes the newspaper WASHINGTON POST, said that new types of antimissile armaments are being developed--the so-called "clever shells" of thermal guidance. Research is underway to develop huge electro-magnetic guns that can send shells into outer space. Ten prototypes of such units were already designed and in November last year one of such systems was successfully tested. THE WASHINGTON POST points out that the Defence Department now intends to hold about 15 tests of components of space-based systems of armaments.

These plans, the newspaper points out, could lead to violation of the United States of the Treaty on Limitation of Antiballistic Missile Systems.

Space Laser Advances

LD151435 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] New York May 15 TASS -- One of the U.S. main research centres pursuing the "Strategic Defence Initiative," the Livermore Laboratory, has made another advance in the development of space lasers powered by a nuclear bomb, THE NEW YORK TIMES reports. According to the newspaper, which quotes laboratory staff, the power of laser rays was raised considerably. Work in that field has been conducted for more than five years now. Moreover, these weapons have already been tested at a Nevada underground testing range. However, this achievement of the Livermore Laboratory, the newspaper admits, is politically embarrassing in a sense to the Reagan administration.

John Pike, head of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, says: "They (the White House) are trying to portray this thing as non-nuclear, regardless of whether or not it is. It is presented as a cure-all against nuclear weapons and a purely defensive system by President Reagan and Defence Secretary Weinberger. However, according to the newspaper, it is laser weapons powered by nuclear explosions that have become the main catalyst of Reagan's "star wars" program".

Second Generation Space Shuttle

LD222125 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS -- TASS commentator Aleksey Popov writes:

Reports about the Pentagon's preparation for the militarisation of outer space are coming off teleprinters one after another. These reports refute Washington's propaganda allegations that the programme of "star wars" advanced by the administration has purely "defensive" character and that its implementation will lead to almost the elimination of nuclear weapons.

As FRANCE PRESSE reported, the Pentagon is now developing a spacecraft "shuttle" of the second generation, a lighter and more manoeuvrable spacecraft. It is intended to implement the research conducted in the framework of the Advanced Military Spaceflight Capability (AMSC) programme of the Airforce of the USA, the programme which envisages the creation of spacecraft to different classes for military purposes by late 90s. These spacecraft include the shuttle of the second generation which, according to the foreign press, has already been labeled "TAV" in a preliminary way.

It is intended to use it, no more or less, for dealing strikes (including nuclear ones) from space on strategic targets on the ground and for conducting hostilities in space. Also for conducting strategic reconnaissance, for ensuring control of armed forces and for testing the latest space arms (laser, beam, etc.).

It is apparent that shuttles of the second generation now developed in the United States will be strike space arms. And while the shuttle spacecraft now operating in the framework of the NASA programme, a third of whose launchings up to 1989 have already been reserved by the U.S. Airforce, are planned to be used in the construction of a large-scale space-based ABM system, shuttles of the new generation will be playing a different role in the plans of those who advanced the so-called "Strategic Defence Initiative." They are designed, alongside the latest armaments on the ground, for dealing the first nuclear strike. Under the plans of the Washington strategists, the plans which, frankly speaking, are illusory, a large-scale ABM system must enable the United States to avoid retaliation for the strike. So, while the Pentagon plans to create a "space shield," with the use of the existing shuttle spacecraft, it is striving to use shuttles of the second generation as a "space sword."

June Shuttle Laser Experiment

LD241811 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 24 May 85

[TASS headline: "Space: Yet Another Pentagon Testing Range?"]

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (TASS) -- TASS commentator Aleksey Popov writes:

Washington is trying to stifle alarm and protests of the international public aroused by U.S. plans for the militarization of space. Washington is waxing lyrical about the fact that, it says, the Reagan "star wars" program is just "innocuous research" that in no way contradicts the existing agreements on arms limitation. What is more, their realization, administration representatives hypocritically assert, will be possible only in the distant future. However, the actual development of events attests to the contrary.

As early as next month the United States is starting tests of virtually separate elements of a space-based wide scale antimissile defense, the creation of which is being carried out within the framework of the "star wars" program. As has been announced by the Pentagon administration, which is implementing this program, the next flight by the space shuttle "Discovery," planned for June, will be used in particular for "experiments in this area." In the course of the "experiment" it is planned to direct "shots" from a laser situated on the Hawaiian islands at a small-diameter reflector fixed on board the "Discovery." With the aid of this reflector, the beams will be aimed at objects in low orbits. In other words, the "laboratory equipment" is virtually a model of one of the most important components of a large-scale ABM system, and the Pentagon's "experiment" aims to work out its principle of operation.

Obviously, the United States has the intention now, and "not in the distant future", of beginning practical work on the implementation of the "star wars" project, thereby directly contravening not only the spirit, but also the letter, of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems. In particular, in Article 5 of the treaty, the sides assume the obligation "not to create, test or deploy sea-based, air-borne, space-based or mobile-land-based ABM systems or components". Therefore, the future flight of the "Discovery" will violate this provision. As stated by the U.S. press, this test will be followed by quite a number of major "experiments" using spaceships of the "shuttle" type, two per year, within the framework of realizing the "star wars" program. Apart from that, the Pentagon is planning in the near future to elaborate jointly with NASA a new heavy-payload shuttle spaceship, which could significantly facilitate the launching to orbit of various units and components to carry out experiments within the framework of creating the space antimissile defense, as well as strike space armaments.

Since Reagan's administration announced the "star wars" program 2 years ago, the treaty on anti-missile defense has become the main obstacle for U.S. strategists to realize their plans to gain military superiority by launching the space arms race. Now they are ready to exceed the provisions of this document by opening the Pentagon's military playground in space.

Laser, Shuttle Tests Scheduled

PM290847 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 85 First Edition p 5

[TASS reports under the rubric "For Outer Space Without Weapons": "Time for Tests Set"]

[Text] Washington, 24 May -- The Reagan administration is moving on to the practical testing of the components of its large-scale ABM system by launching them into outer space with the purpose of implementing in the future its dangerous schemes for militarizing space.

According to the Pentagon, tests of an important component of the "star wars" system, namely, equipment for the precise guidance of an earth-based laser beam at targets in near-earth space, will be carried out during the spacecraft Discovery's flight scheduled for mid-June.

NASA director J. Beggs, addressing a society of automotive industry engineers in the city of Alexandria, Virginia, the other day, reported that President Reagan has ordered the Pentagon and NASA to carry out joint research with the aim of creating a second-

generation space shuttle. The two departments will simultaneously study the potential for creating a new automated heavy-freight space shuttle. The U.S. military requires such craft to speed up the creation of Reagan's "star wars" system.

The research currently being carried out as part of the program to create a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements envisages expanding the combat potential of the space weapons being created. The technology being developed under this program will be used not only at a strategic but at a tactical level. Lieutenant General J. Abrahamson, director of the program for creating the new ABM system with space-based elements, stated this during an appearance on the Worldnet international television system of official Washington's propaganda mouthpiece, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA). Urging academic circles in West European countries to participate in "research forming part of the Reagan program," the general stressed that the scale of research is very large. In the United States alone the Pentagon has already concluded around 800 contracts with various organizations to study different aspects of the program.

New York, 24 May -- The United States intends to circumvent the governments and public of West Europe and harness the West's scientific and technical potential to the implementation of Reagan's dangerous "star wars" program. AP reports that U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger, while en route for the United States from West Europe, where he took part in a session of NATO leading organs in Brussels, stated that the European allies' refusal to approve the "star wars" program would hardly slow down its implementation. "I never did consider that we needed governments' answers," the Pentagon chief added here.

Senate Approves More ASAT Tests

LD251435 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 25 May 85

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS -- The U.S. Senate decided by 74 votes against nine to give the Pentagon the green light to another three tests of anti-satellite weapons (ASAT) by approving an amendment proposed by Republican Senator John Warner. According to AP, in these tests F-15 fighters will launch missiles at targets in near-earth orbits. Two ASAT tests have so far taken place.

Intensive ASAT testing is an essential component of the Reagan administration's large-scale preparations for the militarisation of space on the basis of the "star wars" program. As notable American specialists have pointed out on more than one occasion, space weapons, including anti-satellite systems, are to become the key component of the first nuclear strike potential. According to one of such specialists, T. Caras, the development of ASAT would be pointless for the United States if it did not plan to deliver the first nuclear strike, to unleash nuclear war.

In other words, the Pentagon would like to secure a possibility to shoot down Soviet satellites so as to "blind" the adversary and to detract from its capability to retaliate against a nuclear attack. It is symptomatic in this context that U.S. Under-secretary of Defence Fred Ikle once openly admitted that the use of anti-satellite systems as a basic component of the first strike to destroy all or many of the "key" enemy satellites was intended to make it far more difficult for them to retaliate. The decision taken by the Senate under the White House's pressure is fresh proof of the falsity of Washington's claims that the "star wars" program is just "research." In reality practical steps are being taken to extend the arms race into space.

London May 25 TASS -- The newspaper TIMES says in its comments on the U.S. plans to militarise space that the officials responsible for the "star wars" program are convinced that research under that program will lead to the beginning of the production of space weapons in just five or six years.

SPACE ARMS

TASS REPORTS PUGWASH STATEMENT CRITICIZING SDI

LD282207 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Geneva May 28 TASS -- TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korzhev reporting:

The continuing arms race and the threat of its expansion into outer space threaten the entire peace and security today, says a statement of the executive committee of the Pugwash movement on the results of the working meeting of scientists and experts on military affairs from 18 countries. The meeting ended its deliberations here. The delegates said that in the existing circumstances it is essential to preserve and consolidate the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense (ABM Treaty), to supplement it with a moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite weapon systems and their subsequent prohibition, to abide by and support the SALT 2 treaty as a foundation for future substantial reduction of nuclear arms.

Problems of nuclear arms reduction should be resolved in combination with the prohibition of space weapons. Talks on complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests should be resumed with the aim of their successful completion.

Addressing a news conference here, delegates from the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain stressed the unanimous negative appraisal the meeting had given to the U.S. program of preparations for "star wars."

Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, head of a department of the General Staff of Soviet Armed Forces, said that such a program was incompatible with the ABM Treaty and that it was the antipode of that important Soviet-U.S. document which played an extremely important role in the system of interstate relations and arms control talks.

Realization of U.S. plans for the development of attack space weapons and a large scale ABM defense with space-based elements would upset the strategic balance and stability and have unpredictable and dangerous consequences for the whole of mankind. The Soviet Union is not pursuing these aims and it strictly abides by and observes the provisions of the ABM Treaty.

Contrary to what President Reagan maintains, said G. Holdren, a University of California professor, the U.S. space weapons program cannot ensure protection of cities and the population from a nuclear attack. A majority of U.S. researchers specializing in that field share that point of view. But the realization of that program can promote a situation whereby outer space would be turned into an arena of nuclear military competition.

Dorothy Hodgkin (Great Britain), president of the Pugwash movement, said that President Reagan's assertion that the development of space weapons would allegedly deliver mankind from nuclear arms was completely unrealistic.

Members of the Pugwash movement stressed the need of active cooperation of all peace forces with a view to preventing a nuclear holocaust the threat of which would grow dramatically with the projection of the arms race to outer space.

CSO: 5200/1181

SPACE ARMS

MOSCOW TV TALK SHOW DISCUSSES 'STAR WARS'

'Studio 9' Program

Moscow Television Service in Russian 0600 GMT 25 May 85

["Studio 9" program moderated by Professor Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, political observer of Soviet radio and television, with Academician Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee International Information Department]

[Text] [Zorin] Hello comrades. We are meeting with you in Studio 9 of the Ostankino Television Center for our traditional talk devoted to topical problems of world politics. Taking part in our discussion today are Academician Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, prominent Soviet scientist, physicist, and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee International Information Department.

Space Militarization Plans

You know that the second round of the Soviet-U.S. talks devoted to problems of nuclear and space weapons will begin next week in Geneva. The first round of these talks progressed with difficulty, great difficulty, and many factors indicate that Washington leaders have not yet shown a willingness in deeds nor in words to take a constructive position. The stumbling block in the Geneva talks, and generally in current international events, is Washington's plans, which are dangerous and fraught with far-reaching consequences, to create a new sphere of the arms race and use space in this race for far-reaching military plans and ambitious political programs.

In this connection, I would like to begin today's discussion with the issue of why it is precisely now, and not 5 or 10 years ago, but precisely now, that the problems connected with the military use of space have now moved to the fore. These problems are not new.

In May 1972, the Soviet Union and the United States signed an agreement on limiting antimissile systems. This treaty is called ABM [dogovor PRO]. So even at that time, the danger of using space for military purposes was felt. These problems, however, have come to the fore, as I have already said, only very recently. Why is this, Vitaliy Ivanovich?

[Kobysh] The question is interesting but not very simple. There are all sorts of stories in this connection in the United States. They specifically say that during the 1976 and 1980 election campaigns, President -- then presidential candidate -- Reagan asked his main military adviser, General Graham, former chief of U.S. air intelligence, to find something new, something that would be different from anything else. It appears that General Graham found something new, and a commission, a group, was later formed to work out all the details.

All of this comes more or less from the area of fiction. However, seriously speaking, we know for certain that research in this field has already begun in the United States in the fifties. At the beginning of 1981, when President Reagan moved into the White House, the idea of "star wars" was actually being actively developed. Why did the new U.S. President not announce it immediately? Only in his speech of 23 March 1983 did he formulate his idea, which became known as "star wars," a name that is very irritating.

Serious U.S. analysts themselves think that at that time, Reagan could not begin with it because he already had a reputation of being a hawk and an ultraconservative and simply did not dare to immediately begin with a militarist program that included space.

After his administration had been in power for 2 years, an atmosphere of military hysteria was created in the United States, and they considered it was then possible to announce the matter publicly and present it as a new program. But why and what for? What lies behind it and what major aims have been set? There are many, and I will not try to discuss them all; I shall only talk about what I think are the main issues.

Goals of Program

As is known, in his 23 March 1983 speech, Reagan said that the basic idea of all this was to eliminate the nuclear stalemate, and in the future, nuclear arms, and to live in a world without nuclear arms. We will be talking about this; an epithet has already been given to all this by scientists as well as U.S. politicians, who call it the greatest deception of our time.

Actually, the matter lay in achieving fundamental military superiority, in achieving world hegemony for the United States. In other words, to some extent -- I am drawing a very broad parallel -- the story of the atom bomb is repeating itself in which U.S. ruling circles felt that by holding a monopoly in nuclear arms, they could dictate their will and anything else to the world. This is what I see as the main issue.

Second, the situation in the United States is extremely complicated, and although the White House is currently keeping quiet about the bombing in Philadelphia, in its own country, this nevertheless shows in a concentrated way the intensity of social as well as economic problems. You will probably be talking about this, Valentin Sergeyevich, in your capacity as an Americanist specialist; it seems that the United States is approaching very difficult times from the economic angle. Extremely serious problems are coming. One must assume that this "star wars" program is seen by some as a way out of economic difficulties, as an enormous order that will stimulate the economy. Primarily, of course, it will stimulate the military economy and the military-industrial complex.

Finally, there is another aspect, an insidious aim, an attempt to foist excessive military expenditures on the Soviet Union and the socialist community in order to exhaust them with the arms race.

Scientific Developments

[Zorin] Well, we have looked at the political aspects of this question. Now, Yevgeniy Pavlovich, I would like to ask you, there must also be some scientific discoveries that have brought this problem to the very fore and put it on the agenda as a contemporary problem. Now, what are we looking at and what scientific discoveries and achievements being put to malicious use can we talk about?

[Velikhov] First of all, I would like to express my view which, I think, is currently shared by the majority of scientists both in the United States and in the West and by Soviet scientists. Since 1972, no fundamental discovery has been made that could change the realities of the nuclear age; that is, that nuclear weapons have colossal destructive potential.

It was already known to scientists in the thirties that it was possible to move toward and to think about creating nuclear weapons of colossal destructive force. Afterwards, the program to build these weapons began. What has happened in this sphere since 1972, when it was recognized that on the one hand the creation of an antimissile defense as a guarantee against nuclear attack was not realistic and on the other, that movement in this direction was in itself destabilizing?

During this period, as you have already noted, no major scientific event occurred. But first of all, I would like to refer to what we are talking about. On the first schematic that you can see, you can see the idea that was behind the U.S. President's 23 March 1983 speech, the unfortunate but well-known "star wars" address. [video shows a graph depicting the trajectory of a multiwarhead ballistic missile with separated warheads [boyegolovski] accompanied by targets [tseli]] The idea involves stopping a strategic nuclear missile strike and completely eliminating the possibility of nuclear warheads hitting their targets.

This schematic shows the trajectory of a ballistic missile. The ballistic missile rises, passes through the atmosphere for 200 to 300 seconds, depending on the type of missile, and then the warheads separate. According to the treaty on limiting strategic weapons, today's ballistic missiles can have no more than 10 warheads. So any missile can have 10 warheads which are then aimed at respective targets. With these warheads, there are many various types of false targets, and this is one of the reasons why it was recognized in 1972 that it is very difficult to fight against a real strategic attack of this kind. All these many various types of targets fly through space at a speed of about 8 km per second and then begin to enter the atmosphere.

It was thought in 1972... [changes thought] at that time, work was mainly carried out on a system [eselon] that was supposed to deal with the warheads entering the atmosphere, first in the atmosphere where it is very difficult to distinguish accurately whether the target is false or a real warhead, and then finally when the false targets slow down, as they are light, and slow down in the air. During the very short time remaining, very fast missiles were supposed to hit the warheads. Now this part of antimissile defense was considered to be unrealistic at that time from many points of view.

What is new now? President Reagan, and after him, representatives of his administration, formulated a series of concepts, which were not always in agreement with each other and were sometimes contradictory. They focused attention on the initial phase of the missile's acceleration, when the missile carries the warheads upward. It is supposed that at that time there will be a very large number of battle stations deployed in space, and that with the aid of these battle stations, it will be possible in one way or another to destroy the launched missile. I have to say that you are absolutely correct in that in 1950 this project was also examined and was called (Bambi). It was developed by the Pentagon, and the project chief Professor (Rudgins), who now works in Boston, then came to a negative conclusion about the possibility of its use, and is now very skeptical about this possibility. So what is new? They began to say that the missile can be hit not only with small missiles that can be fired from space, but also with the aid of lasers, with the aid of a booster of charged particles, which must then be neutralized, and with the aid of more exotic means that have not yet even gone through laboratory tests.

Given the lack of time, I have to say that lasers were already known in the seventies. Since then, some development has taken place in the field. The military demonstrations conducted by the Americans have shown that present-day lasers, a U.S. laser mounted on a flying military laboratory, for instance, needs 10 million times more intensity in order to be used as a weapon against an individual missile. There is a very similar situation with boosters. No revolutionary leap has been achieved in this field.

So, summing up I would say there is no justification for thinking that a situation has arisen in science requiring a reassessment of the 1972 appraisals. I agree with you that the main motives prompting all this are found in the political and economic area, in the area of U.S. military-political concepts.

Soviet Position, Response

[Zerin] I understand, thank you. The matters under discussion, the fact that these problems have come to the fore, make it necessary to dwell in our discussion on the position of the Soviet Union in connection with this new situation which has arisen in world politics.

[Kobysh] This position has been very clearly outlined in some statements by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and then from a purely military point of view during the recent interview by a TASS correspondent with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov, USSR defense minister. I shall remind you what Marshal Sokolov said. If the United States begins to militarize space, thus undermining the existing military strategic equilibrium, the Soviet Union will have no other option than to adopt countermeasures aimed at restoring the situation. They may be measures in the field of both defensive and offensive armaments. It stands to reason that the USSR will choose the means of action best meeting the interests of its defensive capability, not the ones Washington's leaders would like it to adopt. In other words, the USSR defense minister has clearly and unambiguously announced that we are in a position to create weapons against which the so-called U.S. nuclear umbrella will be powerless and on the other hand that we can -- and it will not be at all as somebody in the United States wishes from the point of view of expenses -- create systems which the U.S. leaders are talking about so much. It is plain that we shall be forced to do it; and, as Comrade Sokolov has emphasized -- and this is very important -- in our own way.

The question arises of whether the United States will gain security from all this. We have recently visited the United States together, Valentin Sergeyevich, and asked the highest representatives of the U.S. Administration this question. If you recall, we told them that, if you remember postwar history, immediately after the war Americans lived in their country without feeling any kind of threat of danger from the outside. When the United States started the nuclear arms race at first, and then started to include all other kinds of systems, this led to growing fear of the United States. Today, we know, Americans live in fear of war no less than other people; they are terrified of war. We asked whether this new system, when the weapons are placed in space, will make Americans calmer, will they live in greater security. Our interlocutors avoided answering this question.

[Zorin] The Soviet Union thinks the most radical solution for this issue is not to take the course of moving the arms race into space.

Scientific Criticism of Plans

Washington's advancement of the plans called "star wars" has provoked different reactions. Some specialists think this is unrealistic, that from the scientific-technical point of view it is fantasy. What is not fantasy is the reality that Washington is now spending large sums on projects in fields connected with "star wars." From the point of view of the possibility of achieving the aims advanced from scientific-technical positions, what is the position, Yevgeniy Pavlovich?

[Velikhov] Is what was outlined in the President's speech realistic, to make nuclear weapons obsolete and meaningless, which is to fully remove the danger of nuclear arms? To this question, today there is complete consensus in scientific circles that this is unrealistic. Why is it unrealistic? First of all, I have already said that the weapons themselves, which are to be deployed above the other side have to be placed in space. Today these weapons are very complex and are far from being as perfect as necessary.

Second, one must bear in mind that our planet, the earth, revolves; and the satellites that will be located at a height of some several hundreds or thousands of kilometers -- if further, it is simply difficult to describe the radius of action of such weapons -- cannot hang over our heads like a lamp. They are constantly in motion. Therefore, in order to constantly have such weapons over an enemy's territory, it would be necessary to actually fill up all the trajectories of these satellites around the entire planet, as the following schematic shows. [video shows the globe with eight satellites in a single polar-orbital trajectory; a cone from one satellite falls on part of the USSR]

Hence, a situation arises in which it is necessary to fill the space around the entire planet with battle stations. Now, is this realistic? Well, in principle this is expensive, but it is realistic. Now, what is unrealistic? In a very short period of time, in something like 2 minutes, this system must destroy several thousand launched missiles, launched both from the continents as well as from submarines at unknown positions in the ocean, not to mention the fact, which is hardly addressed at all, that this system will withstand, say, long-range cruise missiles, bombers, and other similar means. In practice, it cannot withstand them at all. Even the first task cannot be solved by this kind of system, because, first, it is relatively simple to make a small gap in this system. It need not be destroyed entirely; only a small portion of this system needs to be destroyed in order to put holes in it.

Now the British foreign secretary has compared this system with the Maginot Line, which could be bypassed. This system can be compared to a net in which it is sufficient to make one hole through which all the missiles can then be sent. That is the first problem.

The second problem lies in the fact that this is really an extremely complex system. This system must see all starting missiles, accurately determine their trajectories, and then direct the corresponding weapons at them. As I have said, there is no magic wonder weapon -- which even Hitler hoped for, as you recall. So they need to be either small missiles or some complex weapons of the future; but these weapons must be accurately directed from a very great distance. No practical experience of this sort now exists.

These systems are extremely complex in themselves. Not only are they complex, but they are extremely vulnerable, because they include enormous telescopes in space, enormous mirrors and radars, and so forth which are far more vulnerable than the objects against which the system is aimed. Therefore, it is impractical to create such a system.

However, what is practical? Unfortunately, it is practical to fill space with weapons. This is practical because there is some sense in this. We consider that there is no sense in this, that this is very dangerous; but from a militaristic viewpoint, it is practical.

Threat to World Peace

What can these weapons do? Of course, they can be an element of a first strike; and as such, this type of weapon can present a very real threat which bolsters the capability to carry out a first strike. In particular, it must be borne in mind that these weapons will not be developed in a vacuum but as part of those programs which the United States continues to pursue. They have just allocated funds for the creation of MX missiles, which are quite senseless from a defensive point of view, but which are dangerous as a first-strike weapon. Development of the Trident submarine with accurate missiles is continuing, cruise missiles are being developed, and Pershing missiles are being deployed.

Now in this atmosphere, of course, we must have a very serious attitude to the fact that these weapons may not be the most frightening, but at least are a serious element of the U.S. aggressive policy. Besides, these weapons represent what I would call the dream of a world policeman. You understand that a policeman's dream is to have even a small weapon over the heads of all which can be dropped on them from a distance of several hundred kilometers. After all, you then have no need to dispatch large naval vessels, as happened in Lebanon; you can act rapidly and effectively. From this point of view, it seems to me that these weapons represent a threat to both the Soviet Union and the whole world. I would like to draw attention to another point. In reality, it also represents a threat to the United States itself insofar as development of these weapons naturally evokes -- as has happened in history -- the appearance of corresponding countermeasures.

I would like to draw your attention first of all to a historic example. We have already said that today's missiles each carry 10 warheads into space. They can carry more, but the limit established by the treaty is 10. Where did this idea originate? Why are 10 warheads needed? It came about when the creation of the first antimissile systems served as the justification for this number. In the sixties, the justification for these scientific research projects was: Let us create such a system in order to overcome the Soviet Union's alleged creation of a global antimissile defense system. An agreement was then reached that there would be no antimissile defense. The United States continued to develop a system of multiple warheads, and scientists urged and the Soviet Union proposed that this development be stopped.

Another myth, which is very widespread in the United States, was also operating: It is the idea that today, the United States lags behind and that tomorrow, with the aid of its technical superiority, it will miraculously overtake the Soviet Union. Both myths are wrong.

Today the United States is far from being a weak power; on the contrary, it is armed to the teeth. Tomorrow there will be no miracle at all. This is what has happened with multiple warheads. The Americans thought that we would get them in 15-20 years' time. They were produced within a very short time -- several years -- and as a counter-measure against Americans. Now what are all U.S. military chiefs and scientists thinking? They think that it was the U.S. side's worst mistake to move in the direction of multiple warheads. From this point of view, today's decision on financing the scientific research work trend in the field of offensive weapons for use in space is again a most grave mistake of the U.S. side, not to mention a threat to all.

'Deception Campaign'

[Kobysh] It is a tragic mistake that may turn out to be irreversible. I would also like to add to what Yevgeniy Pavlovich has said. I think that what he has said about this weapon being a threat to all is exceptionally important, because Western and U.S. propaganda is creating the impression that this is a struggle against Soviet missiles, against Soviet nuclear weapons. No, it is a threat to all, to everyone on earth. I think that this is very important for understanding that this is an attempt, as we have said, to achieve world domination. The second thing I would like to say is that the myth that these systems must lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons is very cynical.

One wonders at much of what Weinberger says, especially lately. How is it possible to say all that and at the same time adopt decisions on increasing nuclear weapons. This is planned not for just 1 year, but for decades. Nitze says that all these programs have been planned for 50 years, and that means that programs are being prepared for a race in these nuclear and space weapons up to the middle of the next century, which means that they want to make the coming millennium an era of even fiercer confrontation and a more intensive arms race.

Let us add to this the fact that the U.S. Administration is not even thinking about rejecting the use of nuclear arms; on the contrary, the U.S. military doctrine is now built on their first use. General Rogers, supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe, speaking recently in the Senate, stated openly that NATO reserves the right to use nuclear weapons first. So this is the situation.

[Zorin] So the matter is about a large-scale deception campaign. And its essence is that they say: What are you actually objecting to? We are not talking about attack, but about defense. We intend to fight not against people but against missiles, and this is antimissile defense, and this is sort of good. At the same time as they say this, the potential of MX-type missiles, offensive weapons, is being increased.

When all this is taken together, it appears that the talk is not about defense but about the possibility of achieving military superiority and about dealing a strike against the enemy and being able to escape a retaliatory strike. In general, it is a simple camouflage; and, using Marx's words, it is intended for a public consisting of newborn babies.

ABM Treaty Violation

In this connection, I would like to draw attention to another aspect of the matter which I think is very important. By proclaiming the "star wars" program, Washington is violating in the most flagrant manner the obligations it has taken under the ABM Treaty concluded in 1972.

U.S. diplomacy denies that conditions of the treaty are being violated by the current actions, but facts are facts. I will simply cite the corresponding sections of the 1972 treaty. Article 1 of this document states: The sides pledge not to deploy ABM systems on the territory of their countries and not to create the basis for this kind of defense. In Article 5, the sides pledge not to create, test, or deploy sea-, air-, space-, or mobile-land-based ABM systems or components.

As you can see, it is quite clear that if the provisions of the treaty are compared with what Washington is now striving to do, it becomes obvious that one can and has every reason to say that Washington has taken a course aimed at bypassing a major treaty that was concluded, and this calls into question the possibility of normal interstate relations.

The jurists of ancient Rome formulated a principle that formed the basis of all international law. They said: *Pacta sunt servanda*; that is, treaties must be observed. Without this principle, international law and normal interstate relations are impossible. I think that those who today proclaim the "star wars" plans should think again and again about the consequences, including the moral and political consequences of the course on which they have embarked.

USSR's Response

Now, we have already spoken about the Soviet position in connection with the problem we are discussing. If, nevertheless, Washington takes the dangerous road of an arms race in space, I would like to ask you, Yevgeniy Pavlovich, how can the Soviet Union respond, what can the Soviet Union's response be? After all, the question concerns complex scientific and technical problems, as well as economic problems.

[Velikhov] I should say that today, in Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Leonidovich Sokolov's replies to TASS, it says clearly that the Soviet Union will respond. It will not respond with corresponding measures, but with the most effective measures.

In fact, as I have already said, the system we are talking about is extremely vulnerable in any situation. It has to be set up over our heads; it consists of a large number of very thinly connected and necessarily linked systems, systems that detect targets, systems of guidance to the targets, and systems that ensure communications and control. All these systems are extremely vulnerable. This is one aspect that shows that in fact there can be a very real and effective response.

Of course, the other aspect is simpler. This response consists of our being forced to respond with a corresponding development of retaliatory strike forces, those forces that today deter the United States from initiating a war. Here too, I must say, there are many effective measures possible about which a considerable amount has been written.

All these measures have been discussed and are being discussed. There are several reports: the report of the Federation of American Scientists, for instance; the report of the concerned scientists that unites a number of Nobel laureates; and the report of the Special American Institute at Stanford; finally, the Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Threat of Nuclear War also reviewed this question from purely scientific positions.

I should say that basically we have spoken only about separate elements, but imagine all of these elements tied into a system on which the aggressor must rely. He must pin hopes on the fact that his aggressive actions will go unpunished. Therefore, our main task is to prove to him that this will not happen. First, the simple method is to increase the number of retaliatory weapons. I should say that the American themselves propose an answer to this question. There is a paradox in this today. By developing both offensive and so-called -- conditionally -- defense weapons, the Americans are in a way also sowing the seeds for the destruction of this system.

The report of General Scowcroft, who proposed the strategic direction of further development of U.S. nuclear forces, proposes a small mobile missile with one warhead. If development of such a missile begins, then the question about how many battle stations are necessary becomes far more complicated, because it is not known how these missiles will be concentrated. It could happen that at a certain point there are insufficient battle stations. If their number is increased, they must be increased worldwide. This will increase the cost of the entire system dozens of times.

Moreover, the number of such missiles, compared with the number of warheads immediately... [Velikhov changes thought] Today, one missile carries 10 warheads, but here it is one on one, and 10 times more battle stations are needed. You immediately lose out by a multiple of 10.

Finally, there are a whole series of ways: One could reduce the missiles' flight time, protect the missile itself, or produce a large number of comparatively cheap dummy missiles. These are some of the ways and I must say that there are many of them. One knows what has been said and done. Moreover, the most important thing is that everything written and everything I say is based on today's equipment. One can directly produce countermeasures against even futuristic systems, systems of the future, based on today's equipment.

What is proposed by the same U.S. scientists is the second thing depicted on the schematic: how to combat these stations. [Video shows graphic depicting flight path of cluster of objects and of a missile] One can combat them by putting into space various kinds of shrapnel-like objects, and by a direct hit by the same small missiles. After all, it is easier to score a hit from the earth into space than from space to earth.

Finally, one could combat them with lasers, if they are ever created. For instance, Keyworth, scientific adviser to the President, said precisely that a ground-based laser could be created, through which space stations could be destroyed.

You see, a very interesting point is that -- generally without great advertisement and quite secretly -- such a program exists in the United States. It is called that in the budget: a program for improving offensive forces. Its budget is not very large compared to the annual one: \$74 million is being asked for next year. Compared to the \$300 billion for "star wars," it seems like a small budget. However, to a certain extent, it also reflects the effectiveness of these measures. The United States is now, beforehand, beginning to create weapons that will combat a system the Soviet Union does not intend to create. This is the logic. In other words, internal rivalry is now appearing in the United States between industries making offensive and defensive weapons. A certain, I would call it gloomy and humorous, situation arises where, at a certain point, the United States will not even need an enemy for the development of the military-industrial complex. They could just compete with each other internally. However, this is, unfortunately, only a joke.

Therefore, I would like to say the following: The Soviet Union will have, and has, all the resources -- scientific and technical -- to reply very effectively. It is very important that the United States understand this in time, and that the military-industrial complex understands this in time. Then, it would have less incentive to get involved in this venture, because, ultimately, the military-industrial complex is interested, not in scientific research work, but later going into mass production. Today, many U.S. industrial leaders doubt whether this mass production will occur, because the arguments I have mentioned are, generally speaking, known in the United States, and many U.S. scientists are talking about them.

Cost to USSR, U.S.

[Zorin] Yevgeniy Pavlovich, what do you think in connection with the plans -- generally undisguised by Washington -- associated with not only military, scientific, and technical, but also with the economic aspects of this entire program? We are talking about the fact that certain circles consider that, having imposed a certain path of action on us, they will force backbreaking expenditure on us.

[Velikhov] You know that this is a continuous policy of the United States. You recall that, at the beginning of the administration's operations, Weinberger frankly stated that an offensive system in [corrects himself] a structure of offensive forces would be created, which will force us to reconstruct all our forces, and we would be compelled to incur backbreaking expenditure. This did not happen. Subsequently, they now say that this system supposedly must force us to incur backbreaking expenditure. I must say that the assessments I have discussed, scientific assessments, indicate that the countermeasures in this case are significantly more effective and ...

[Zorin, interrupting] Less expensive.

[Velikhov] Less expensive, of course, than the creation of such an incredibly complicated system. Moreover, you must understand: Can you imagine the degree of super-reliability you must infuse it with, in order to depend on this system, which, in principle, can never be tested? All this indicates -- I look at it quite optimistically -- that you can do it with very effective, and not very expensive, measures. However, I must say that, unfortunately, these measures are necessary. They will have to be taken. Generally speaking, I do not, of course, see any possibility of us being economically ruined, but it is a fact that, unfortunately, it will cost us a certain amount. One would hope that we shall not incur unnecessary expenditure, and that the Americans will come to their senses in time.

[Zorin] The Soviet Union is firmly, and persistently, upholding a line of not permitting this new round of the arms race, by no means from weakness. After all, when the Americans say that they want to ruin us, they either do not understand, or pretend that they do not understand, what is now happening to the U.S. economy. There was a long period of deep recession, the deepest since the war. Then, the U.S. economy began to extricate itself from this recession. A serious, and long-term, upsurge was expected. If one takes the last few months, it turns out that a serious and long-term upsurge did not occur.

Moreover, influential and authoritative U.S. economists are saying that the U.S. economic horizon is becoming cloudy, and it is possible that Reagan's presidency, or at least the second part of the current term, will be dampened by very large economic troubles, and it is significant that practically all economists, including government economists -- they cannot deny it -- agree that, both the serious upsurge in the U.S. economy, which did not materialize, and the serious troubles threatening the economy, are connected with exorbitant military expenditure.

Yes, the United States is a rich country, and has great resources, but they, nevertheless, conceived the program -- which you, Yevgeniy Pavlovich, have discussed -- that, as real economic facts show, is too much even for the powerful U.S. economy. As they say, Americans are now trying to lift the rock which could fall on their feet and crush them. Therefore, after foisting a new round of the arms race on the world and on us, to count on a bloodless victory with the help of economic factors is a boomerang -- this is even now becoming clear, and is being said more loudly -- which could hit the United States very, very seriously.

Well, we have discussed by no means all aspects of the problem; the problem is a complex one. Let us now try to sum up, and draw certain conclusions from what we have discussed.

U.S. Allies' Attitude

[Kobysh] Well, I would like to single out the following from what we have discussed: First of all, I would particularly like to say -- so that we, and our listeners or viewers, keep this in mind -- that the U.S. allies in Western Europe by no means share the official position of the U.S. Administration concerning all these affairs.

[Zorin] Yes, Vitaliy Ivanovich, this is a very important aspect which must be particularly stated before we sum up.

[Kobysh] Yes. Despite the fact that FRG Chancellor Kohl hastened to acknowledge that the FRG is joining, and is included in, this affair, the absolutely overwhelming majority of people -- not only people, but even government, state, and public figures -- have an extremely negative attitude to this entire affair. This is, more or less, the mood everywhere in all the capitals of the nations allied to the United States in NATO.

If we talk about Western Europe as a whole, the opposition to these plans is sharp and harsh, and can even be seen in government circles, which Yevgeniy Pavlovich indirectly said, and is concentrated around a number of problems that seem most important to the leaders of the West European allies of the United States.

First is an understanding of the new threat all these plans have for peace and the security of peoples, and Europeans first of all. Europe is small and compact, and, of course, everything threatens it first of all. There is an understanding of this.

It is also clear that this is all connected with monstrous expenditure; and although advertising specialists from Madison Avenue, who service the White House and other U.S. official departments in Washington, are now trying to prove in every way possible that all this will give impetus to technological progress, Western Europeans are afraid of becoming technological vassals of the United States.

[Zorin] Pardon me, Vitaliy Ivanovich. In this connection, I have a question for Yevgeniy Pavlovich. Yevgeniy Pavlovich, why are Americans now striving to tie Europeans to the development of these scientific programs? From the scientific viewpoint, is this a political calculation, or do the Americans need certain skills they do not possess, or the qualifications of European scientists they cannot do without?

[Velikhov] I would say that both aspects are present here. On the one hand, it is, of course, the bringing in of additional forces and, most importantly, resources. However, there are also economic and political problems. The first is that, even in the United States, the administration today has very few allies. If one takes all the former defense secretaries, the majority of secretaries of state, and 90 percent of scientists, they all react negatively to this program. Therefore, I would say that, to a certain extent, an element of bribing Western allies exists today. They are told that, if you side with and support us, you will first demonstrate loyalty, and second, you will receive a share of technological profits.

Regarding technological profits, I very much doubt that this program will produce very large technological profits. It will, of course, accelerate certain research in various directions, but this can be done today in a considerably more organized and clear way. History shows us how such a program was very popular in the Middle Ages, when it was considered that one could produce either the elixir of life or the philosopher's stone, which changes everything into gold. Science was not ready for these measures, but there was momentum from those in power, who all thought -- as today's administration does to a certain extent -- that, if they gathered many scientists, and they were paid properly, they would do what was needed.

It is not so, because as they said then, you recall: The elixir of life was not produced, but floor polish was. I think that it is unlikely that anything more than floor polish will be produced here also, because there are other ways of developing technology. However, these elements, of course, exist in the appeals Weinberger is conducting so actively in Western Europe and in Japan, I must say.

[Zorin] Nevertheless, I would not say that the results of this activity are what Washington expected. Skepticism is very noticeable in Europe and even in Japan, although the ruling circles of the U.S. allies are trying to stifle this skepticism in every way possible, or at least not to have it demonstrated publicly. I ask you [turns to Kobysh] to complete our thought, so to speak, by summing up our talk.

Implications of 'Star Wars'

[Kobysh] Valentin Sergeyevich, what you just said, and what Yevgeniy Pavlovich said, leads me to the thought that it is not the United States against the entire world, but it is the administration, or even part of the administration, against the entire world in this very dangerous and dubious affair that could result in tragedy.

In this connection, I would like to say a few words within the context of the general situation in the world today. This is not happening in a vacuum, but in quite real and concrete conditions, which exist in our new, completely new, world.

This has already been discussed, and it is not always pleasant to discuss it, but mankind has entered a phase of its development, when we live in such a fragile world, which can be destroyed many times over with the already existing armaments. A monstrous, and for mankind, potentially very dangerous disparity between the scientific and technical, economic, and military potential of the West -- primarily the United States -- and the public consciousness of the ruling circles there. This is a tragedy.

A new time has arrived, formerly unknown to human civilization, and it requires not just comprehension -- although this too is needed -- but completely new approaches, new policies, new actions...

[Zorin, interrupting] A new way of thinking.

[Kobysh] A new philosophy. Generally, everything must be perceived anew. All former notions -- force and crushing, suppressing, or killing someone -- sound monstrous today. It is the same as 10-20,000 years at the dawn of the development of the human race, when they killed with clubs in the struggle for food, caves, furs, and fire. Now, they want to kill from space, but the point is the same. This is in our world, on the eve of the 21st century. If one thinks about it, essentially little has changed, except one thing: This is supported by incredible technology of monstrous potential. This is the major drama of our time, which we fully realize. We do not only realize this, but try to prove it to the other side, by all our practical actions and political initiatives, that all this must be changed. One must pave the way to a new life for mankind, a life without violence and war.

The U.S. leaders reply to this with only one thing: No. They are now throwing down a new challenge to mankind which, if they are not stopped, could prove fatal. Our party, our leadership, and the Soviet state have to wage a persistent, and intense, struggle to divert the nuclear threat from mankind, and not allow the involvement of peoples in this new, and monstrous, arms race.

We proceed from the fact that there is a possibility to stop this development. It exists; this is not some sort of idealistic notion, but an absolutely realistic approach. In the final analysis, we believe in our hearts that the other side will also understand this. But the trouble is that they may understand too late. Again there will confrontation, and the world will be unstable for another 50 years, as Nitze says.

It is now possible to take specific measures, which would stop it all now, while it is not too late. This is the reason, I want to say, that we are in Geneva where, as you said, Valentin Sergeyevich, very difficult and, judging from it all, not very short talks are being held. We are striving to reach an agreement on banning moving the arms race to space, and to begin a radical reduction of armaments, primarily, nuclear ones. I understand perfectly well that it is necessary, of course, to create a certain climate for this purpose, a climate of mutual understanding, goodwill, a climate where there would be no place for mutual suspicion. I think the Soviet state is doing everything in order to move in that direction.

In the recent statement, he made during talks with Baldrige, U.S. secretary of commerce, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, said, and I quote: There are objective preconditions for effective and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and the United States in various fields. What this means, he said, is that it is time to unfreeze the potential of Soviet-U.S. cooperation, freeze the arms race, and the escalation of hostility or, more exactly, curtail it. That is our program, and this is a consistent, sincere, and realistic program.

[Zorin] Well, our air time has been exhausted, and all I have left is to thank you for taking part in our discussion, and thank the viewers for their attention, till we meet again here in our Studio 9. Thank you.

USSR JOURNAL ANSWERS UK READER ON 'OVERDRAMATIZING' SPACE ISSUE

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 19, May 85 p 31

[Text] I believe the Soviet Union is over-dramatizing the militarization of outer space issue, and Mr Reagan's strategic defence initiative in particular. The latter is a defence plan and, as American experts say, will not be feasible before next century. Why, then, scare people now!

Gerard Hammerwell
London, Britain

World news analyst Vladimir Kazakov replies: I ought to say, Mr Hammerwell, that the militarization of outer space is an immediate and not a remote threat. Here are some facts that disprove what the American experts say. The Pentagon's constantly growing expenditure on space programmes has long exceeded NASA's expenditure on peaceful space exploration. Practical steps are being taken to use present-day technology to manufacture "star wars" weapons. Anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) are being tested, with F-15 fighters as missile carriers. On 10 June 1984, a Minute-man warhead was intercepted 160 kilometres above the Pacific. A joint space command of the U.S. armed forces has been set up, and combat units of astronauts are being formed. All these, Mr Hammerwell, are realities of today.

Two years ago, on 23 March 1983, President Reagan delivered a speech which was dubbed the "star wars" programme. Officially called the "strategic defence initiative," it envisages the creation of entirely new--laser, beam, kinetic or nuclear--weapons to strike at targets from outer space. The aim is to build a large-scale anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system and thus upset strategic military parity and gain military supremacy over the Soviet Union. The estimated minimal cost of the system will be \$1 trillion.

How long will it take to develop these latest systems of annihilation? The appearance of laser, beam and other "exotic" "star wars" weapons is not far distant. In an interview with AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, General Abrahamson, who is in charge of implementing the "strategic defence initiative," said that the first tests of the anti-missile technology in near space would be conducted in 1987. That is, in just two years. You might

remember, Mr Hammerwell, that the Manhattan project (atom bomb) was initially a research project too. But the best brains and huge sums made it possible to complete that project in a mere decade. The nuclear weapons produced in the 1940's could today wipe out life on earth. So can we disregard modern projects? Even if space weapons are devised only next century, that is not too far off.

Is a comparison of nuclear weapons and "star wars" weapons justified? The tragedy of Hiroshima showed what destruction can be wrought by nuclear weapons. But "star wars" weapons too are not designed to avert such tragedies. We call space arms a component of aggression. Here are a few points to prove that.

First, the danger is that the very concept of a space "shield," combined with the constantly growing strategic nuclear potential and the military-political doctrine of first strike, is becoming an integral part of the strategy of aggression. Washington could deliver a first strike only if it is confident that a retaliatory blow would not prove fatal to the United States. The purpose of the ABM system is, therefore, to allow the aggressor to act with impunity. Seen together, Washington's reluctance to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and its plans to build an ABM "shield" are then quite revealing.

Second, a space-based system capable of detecting and knocking out missiles within a few minutes of their launching could also strike at national means of warning of a nuclear attack. Their annihilation, as U.S. military experts also admit, would be a preparation for a first strike and would actually be tantamount to a nuclear attack.

Third, and last, there is no guarantee that an offensive system, intended to destroy strategic targets on earth, would not secretly be placed in orbit under the guise of ABM stations. Washington has always striven to ring the Soviet Union with nuclear-armed bases. Will not space become an arena for deploying new strategic weapons? Nuclear-tipped Pershing 2 are being sited in Western Europe in order to cut their flight time to the USSR. However, outer space offers an aggressor a more advantageous position for attack. Space weapons could be placed in orbit right over the territory of any state, and the time from an attack go-ahead to the destruction of a target could be very short indeed.

The plans to create "star wars" weapons are highly dangerous because they imperil a number of Soviet-American treaties, above all the treaty on the limitation of ABM systems. The wrecking of these treaties would throw the world back to the worst times of the cold war, to an unprecedented arms race in every sphere. The arms race would assume unpredictable proportions and might get right out of control. The militarization of space would greatly increase the likelihood of a nuclear holocaust.

No, Mr Hammerwell, we are not over-dramatizing the situation by saying that the "strategic defence initiative" is the most dangerous and militaristic of Washington's programmes. The alarm must be sounded now, while the militarization of space can still be prevented. That is why all right-minded people are closely following the current, Soviet-sponsored talks in Geneva, at which the questions of space and nuclear arms are to be examined and decided in their interrelationship. I hope you will now agree that it is quite justified to raise these questions in such a connection.

SPACE ARMS

NATO STUTTGART MEETING FAILS TO AGREE ON SDI PARTICIPATION

LD202021 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 20 May 85

[Commentary by Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Text] Representatives of 16 NATO countries meeting in West Germany have failed to agree on their countries' participation in President Reagan's "star wars" program. Our observer Yuriy Reshetnikov has prepared the following commentary on the issue:

The NATO delegates concluded their 4-day meeting on Monday by voting on a resolution which called vaguely for closer economic ties among the allied nations. During 3 days of inconclusive debates, it became clear that there was no way they could agree on the U.S. Administration's "star wars" program, which proved to be a bone of contention. At the meeting held in Stuttgart, French, Norwegian, and Danish delegates overwhelmingly rejected the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative, as [the] "star wars" program is formally called. The allies, not without justification, generally view the program as a threat to European stability and an incentive to a new arms race. In the technical panel discussion at the Stuttgart meeting, a French parliamentarian expressed his fears that the "star wars" defense could trigger off a new arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union because it does not include a renunciation of offensive missiles. A Norwegian representative doubted whether Europe could be protected at all, implying that the United States was above all concerned about its own security.

For its part, the United States has done precious little to allay West European fears about the possible consequences of developing space-based weapons. John Garner, the Pentagon's SDI program director, in his presentation to the NATO meeting, virtually confirmed European fears that "star wars" could trigger off a new arms race.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union made it clear that once the United States launches its space weapons program the USSR would have no choice but take appropriate counter-measures to restore the existing military and strategic balance. According to Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Sergey Sokolov, these measures could be both in the area of defensive and offensive arms, and these measures will be adequate to the threat that might be created to the Soviet Union and its allies.

Despite claims to the contrary, Washington's "star wars" program is basically offensive in nature. In theory at least, it would allow the United States to launch a nuclear attack by protecting itself from retaliation. Coupled with an unrelenting buildup of nuclear weapons pursued by the United States, the "star wars" effort can

only serve to further destabilize an already risky strategic situation and thus increase the likelihood of nuclear war. The militarization of space will also greatly complicate, if not altogether rule out, any further efforts currently aimed at reducing nuclear weapons, for these problems are inherently linked and cannot be dealt with independently of each other.

Despite Washington's optimism about the potential benefits of a space-based weapons system and the huge costs involved in developing such a system, it would not make the United States any more secure. As the Soviet defense minister recently indicated, its emergence would inevitably lead to lowered security for the United States and its allies.

CSO: 5200/1181

5 July 1985

SPACE ARMS

NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' FINAL COMMUNIQUE

AU071128 Paris AFP in English 1123 GMT 7 Jun 85

[Text] Estoril, Portugal, June 7 (AFP) -- Foreign ministers from 16 NATO countries issued a final communique here at the end of their two-day meeting in which they abstained from mentioning the U.S. "star wars" project. NATO sources said earlier that in the face of objections notably from France, they had been unable to agree on a joint statement giving explicit support to the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), as the project is officially known.

The foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced they will go to Helsinki on July 31-August 1 to attend ceremonies for the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This appeared to point to a third meeting between U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, who has already announced that he will be attending the ceremonies. They met in Geneva in January and in Vienna last month.

The communique urged Moscow to "join us in seeking tangible improvements in East-West relations." But it added that in view of the Soviet military buildup of nuclear and conventional weapons "we shall preserve credible deterrents" in these sectors. It stressed that "our strategy of deterrence has proved its value in safeguarding peace. It remains fully valid. We wish to strengthen the peace by establishing a stable military balance at the lowest possible level of forces," the communique said. For this reason NATO welcomed U.S.-Soviet negotiation in Geneva on strategic nuclear weapons, intermediate range nuclear weapons and defence and space systems.

On the Helsinki Final Act, the foreign ministers stressed that "we attach great importance to the full implementation by all participating states" of all its "principles and provisions."

They condemned terrorism and said the NATO states would "continue to work to eliminate this threat to our citizens and to the democratic values we hold in common". NATO called on Moscow to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and "agree to a political solution" to restore its independence and non-aligned status. The NATO foreign ministers said, "we seek genuine detente through constructive dialogue and broad cooperation with the Soviet Union and with each of the countries of Eastern Europe in all areas."

The meeting in this coastal resort near Lisbon marks the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) first far-reaching debate on the political repercussions of the space-based defence system. The "star wars" project yesterday met with stiff resistance from French External Relations Minister Roland Dumas, who said France would not back a programme that could "disturb" strategic balance based on dissuasion through nuclear offensive weapons. Nor would the French Government take part in weapons research on the Strategic Defense Initiative, he added. Mr Dumas' comments underscored the stance of French President Francois Mitterrand, who at the Bonn seven-nation Western summit last month became the first NATO leader to reject the SDI.

SPACE ARMS

NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY DISCUSSED SDI, GENEVA TALKS

Reservations Voiced

LD181137 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 18 May 85

[Text] Stuttgart 18 May (DPA) -- Considerable defense and economic reservations against European participation in the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] were expressed on 18 May in the science and technology committee of the North Atlantic Assembly meeting in Stuttgart. Parliamentarians from France, Norway and Denmark in particular, who have rejected European participation, expressed the fear that the stationing of space missile defense systems would have a destabilizing effect, introduce a new arms race and make peace less secure. In contrast a British parliamentarian stressed his country's readiness to cooperate in SDI as it could make peace more secure. A Norwegian representative doubted whether Europe could be included in the planned defense system at all, as only ballistic missiles could be stopped by it. Any noninclusion of the European states could put in question the foundations of NATO. A French parliamentarian stressed that SDI meant no abandonment of offensive weapons. The stationing of defense systems by the two superpowers, the United States and USSR, would have a negative influence on the credibility of the system of deterrence and unleash a new technological "arms race" in offensive weapons. He spoke in favor of the Eureka research program as a civil alternative to the SDI on which the European NATO states should concentrate their so far "dissipated" efforts.

On the other hand the fear was also expressed in the committee that lack of participation by the Europeans could further increase the leading role of the United States in the economic field. The parliamentarians were also concerned with whether the United States was prepared to involve the Europeans in the SDI research program on an equal basis, and whether there would be a genuine exchange of information and transfer of technology. The parliamentarians from 16 NATO states planned to give their final vote on the SDI at their autumn meeting in San Francisco.

Kohl Speech

LD200818 Hamburg DPA in German 0709 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Stuttgart, 20 May (DPA) -- Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl does not face the "dilemma of having to choose between Paris and Washington" in connection with the American Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Addressing 200 parliamentarians from 15 NATO states who attend the North Atlantic Assembly in Stuttgart, Kohl said on Monday that contacts with France are "close and trustful."

The Federal Government supports the "basic idea" of combining European high technology expertise. Europe, however, will also have to face up to the American "technological and politico-strategic challenge." The Federal Government will examine the likelihood of a "possible" cooperation in SDI research, Kohl emphasized on the last day of the spring meeting of NATO parliamentarians.

The defense initiative, Kohl said, represents for the North Atlantic alliance "an opportunity but also a risk." It is too early to predict today whether it will prove to be an alternative way to prevent war, to reduce dependence on and ultimately to scrap nuclear weapons. At the same time, the federal chancellor demanded that Europe's security not be divorced from U.S. security. The NATO strategy of flexible response will have to remain in force as long as there is no credible alternative that will ensure the prevention of war. Concrete SDI research findings have "to lead to cooperative solutions."

Kohl also commented on the demand by the U.S. Congress to the U.S. Administration to withdraw American troops from Europe to encourage the Europeans to greater defense efforts. Troop withdrawal is also against U.S. security interests and would "send a wrong signal to the East." At the same time, the head of government underlined the need to strengthen through increased security cooperation among Europeans, the European pillar of the alliance and thus the overall defense capability of the alliance.

At the Geneva disarmament negotiations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic's special interests centers on medium-range missiles, Kohl emphasized. A bilateral moratorium would merely perpetuate the unequal starting positions and not contribute toward a genuine solution. The more cohesive the alliance's support for the American defense leadership [verteidigungsfuehrung] -- provided there is "close coordination of the negotiating positions" -- the greater the chances of success.

CSO: 5200/2657

SPACE ARMS

FRG AMBASSADOR TO U.S.; SDI ENDANGERS SALT II TREATY

DW040607 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Jun 85 pp 16, 17

[Unattributed article: "Ambassador's Warning"]

[Text] In the opinion of the Guenther van Well, FRG ambassador to the U.S., the U.S. programs for the militarization of space and new intercontinental missiles can no longer be halted. Defense Ministry sources have revealed that in two confidential telegrams (Nos 2541 and 2542), the former under secretary in the Foreign Ministry warned that two of the most important U.S.-Soviet treaties are thus endangered. The SALT II treaty fixed an upper limit for the number of intercontinental missiles the superpowers are allowed to have, a limit that, according to the ambassador, will be "exceeded in the next few years," if U.S. arms programs "continue to be implemented successfully."

The ambassador noted that the number of nuclear warheads installed on strategic weapons systems in the United States had increased by "at least 1,600" during the past few years. The ambassador said that while the ABM treaty banning Moscow and Washington from having additional antimissile defense systems had not "as yet" been violated by SDI research, further development of SDI programs would make this treaty "obsolete."

Van Well called on the Federal Government, which intends to participate in SDI only if both treaties are respected, to monitor developments carefully. In the United States, discussions on the technical, political, and military questions raised by SDI are still a long way from being concluded, let alone resolved, the ambassador stated.

CSO: 5200/2654

SPACE ARMS

KOHL SAYS EUREKA 'NOT ALTERNATIVE' TO SDI

LD071403 Hamburg DPA in German 1220 GMT 7 Jun 85

[Excerpt] Bonn, 7 Jun (DPA) -- According to Chancellor Helmut Kohl there are no strains on FRG-French relations. Cooperation between Bonn and Paris will continue to be the driving force for European union, the chancellor said at a luncheon in Bonn today for the members of the "action committee for Europe," which was founded yesterday in the federal capital by prominent European personalities under the chairmanship of former President Karl Carstens.

In a speech Kohl committed himself to the political unification of Europe. "We want a common European foreign and security policy that deserves the name." In the presence of the committee members Kohl also called for a return to majority rule within the EEC and also for greater involvement of the European Parliament. His government supports the French initiative for closer European cooperation in the sphere of emerging technology. The Eureka project is however, not an alternative to the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI], but a further step toward intensified European cooperation.

According to Kohl, Europe's answer to the SDI must consist not of a policy of resignation and "not of uncoordinated rejection." Europe must learn to speak with one voice in this sphere, too. In view of the SDI's far-reaching effects, which greatly affect European interests, it is natural for Bonn to strive for a common position with the most important European partners, but here there can be no question of forming a front against the United States.

CSO: 5200/2653

SPACE ARMS

WEST GERMAN FDP TO WITHHOLD COMMITMENT ON SDI

LD011031 Hamburg DPA in German 0928 GMT 1 Jun 85

[Excerpts] Neuss, 1 Jun' (DPA) -- The FDP chairman, West German Economic Minister Bangemann, has called on the CDU/CSU to return to unity in the interests of the coalition. At the opening of the session of the FDP National Executive in Neuss on Saturday, Bangemann said that the balance that could be drawn up at the half way stage of its term in office by the government coalition is a highly presentable one. Contrary to the general impression, for which the coalition itself is to blame, it is essentially healthy.

Regarding the discussion of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] defense strategy, Bangemann warned against emotionalism. As concrete details are still to come from the U.S., the FDP should not commit itself too early, either to a yes or to a no. The line taken by the FDP to date is the right one. It sets the following preconditions: full, equal rights for the partners, no one-way technology transfer, a joint European approach, and no automatic movement from research into development.

CSO: 5200/2654

SPACE ARMS

FRG FOREIGN MINISTER AFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR DETENTE

LD171238 Hamburg DPA in German 1129 GMT 17 May 85

[Text] Bonn, 17 May (DPA) -- Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has strongly supported the policy of detente and has expressed skepticism of any form of space arms. In an article, released today by the Foreign Ministry, in tomorrow's edition of the NORDSEE-ZEITUNG, Genscher writes:

"Detente policy must be comprehensive and include space. The dispute of the 1970's on whether detente is divisible was answered by the effects of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan: Detente can only flourish lastingly if it is understood to be worldwide, that is, indivisible. Selective detente policy is at best possible only sometimes. Today, however, detente must have a third dimension, that is, the universal one. This means that a detente policy on earth and an arms race and confrontation in space cannot coexist."

Genscher said he believes that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the 35 CSCE participating states in Helsinki on 1 August could offer an opportunity for a new reaffirmation of detente policy. He called for a broad expansion of detente policy in order to stabilize East-West relations through the cooperation of the small-and medium-sized state.

CSO: 5200/2654

SPACE ARMS

FRG DEFENSE MINISTER, GREENS DIFFER IN BUNDESTAG SDI DEBATE

LD231858 Hamburg DPA in German 1723 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Bonn, 23 May (DPA) -- Defense Minister Manfred Woerner (CDU) regards the U.S. SDI research program as justified and politically necessary. Woerner affirmed this in Bundestag debate on Thursday evening [23 May] brought about by a parliamentary question from the Greens "on the militarization of space." Woerner pointed out that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world that has at its disposal viable antisatellite weapons. It has been testing systems to combat satellites since 1968.

The Greens demanded that the Federal Republic refrain from participating in the U.S. SDI plans. Deputy Torsten Lange put forward the view the U.S. President Reagan's SDI is not a defensive measure, but an offensive concept with appalling repercussions. The Social Democrats also made their rejection of it clear once again. Karl-Heinz Klejdzinski stressed that space must remain free from weapons. On the SDI question the government coalition is "sharply" torn by strife.

CDU Deputy Manfred Abelein, on the other hand, stressed the Union's positive attitude to the SDI research program. What is involved is exclusively defensive and not offensive weapons. "We are of the opinion that European science and research can make significant contributions to a new defense system." The basis of cooperation in the framework of SDI must be characterized by equal rights and partnership. The Free Democrats again showed clear reservations. Olaf Feldmann (FDP) complained not only about a lack of information on SDI but also about contradictory information. "The FDP does not want an arms race in space rather than an arms race on earth."

CSO: 5200/2654

SPACE ARMS

FRG EDITORIAL ON PARTICIPATION IN EUREKA, SDI

DW311203 Bonn DIE WELT in German 31 May 85 p 2

[Editorial by Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode: "Who Is Convinced by Einstein's Ideas, Who Is Not"]

[Text] The letter in which Helmut Schmidt strongly advises Chancellor Kohl against FRG participation in President Reagan's SDI project has found considerable public attention. This is not surprising because Schmidt had connected his fate as chancellor with counterarmament and in this way proved that he personally is not susceptible to temporary challenges, not even to his own party. However, what would be the consequences if Kohl were to follow his advice?

An analysis must be based on the assumption that no one can make the United States return to the situation prior to the U.S. President's television speech of 23 March 1983, when Reagan announced SDI. In concrete terms it is a research project. However, it also is a political decision which can at this point not be called a decision on principle because, naturally, the research result cannot be anticipated.

In addition, the United States is in a position to carry out the research program alone. A world power has set its own priority, and nobody can prevent the priority from being fulfilled. With or without the Europeans, the SDI will be advanced to a point where testing and deployment can be decided upon. This also would be the moment for Washington to negotiate with Moscow, so as to bring the tests into line with the ABM treaty (anti-ballistic missile treaty) of 1972. In this respect Washington has committed itself to its allies.

This is the state of affairs that cannot be influenced by Bonn and on the basis of which the chancellor will make a decision. Kohl must consider the predictable effects of the SDI on the friendship with the United States, on the many partnership within NATO and Europe, as well as on decision processes in international crisis situations.

Basically, the Federal Government has at best tactical but no substantial alternatives. As when Konrad Adenauer decided on the irrevocable ties with the West, the Federal Republic now has to consider the basic prerequisite of its existence: External security has absolute priority as a precondition of freedom -- with the security and freedom of Berlin ranking first because it is most exposed. Both security and freedom cannot be had without the United States. To this extent the FRG is dependent.

From this it follows that if Helmut Schmidt argues that FRG participation in SDI also is not advisable because Mitterrand rejects the project and our close relations with

France are of extraordinary importance, this can only be correct with the essential reservation that our decision for France must by no means affect the U.S. protective function. France cannot replace the superpower United States in the FRG calculation of survival.

The advice given by Foreign Minister Genscher and others not to put the stakes on SDI but on the European Eureka program favored by France, is also subject to this fact. Participation in Eureka is no longer at issue. However, those who play this program off against SDI want to prevent European participation in Reagan's initiative.

Examining the reasons for Genscher's skepticism of the SDI program, we presume that the foreign minister wants to rely on arms control negotiations in Geneva and Vienna and the gradual expansion of CSCE rather than to find technological possibilities to neutralize nuclear offensive weapons. All those who follow Einstein's theory that dealing with nuclear arms requires a radical break with traditional thinking, may share his view. As true as this sentence is as an insight and wish, little will it move the Soviet attitude in arms control negotiations. It is as helpful as the truism that those who negotiate do not shoot. At any rate, it is wrong to believe that largely unsuccessful arms control negotiations are proof of "detente." However, such an approach is totally unrealistic if you do not consider that the crucial negotiations in Geneva are held between the United States and the Soviet Union. Nothing happens without the United States, and we are aware that it will not renounce its SDI program. The Europeans deceive themselves if they believe that as a "treaty area" (treaties with the East) they could determine the course of global events.

The quintessence: Bonn has every reason to secure for itself an influence on the U.S. attitude by participating in SDI. If Kohl were to oppose the SDI, he would easily get into the role of someone associating with Willy Brandt who in Moscow did not allow himself to be labelled a Russian, even though his statements suggested just that, when in the name of the SPD he joined the anti-SDI front there.

CSO: 5200/2654

SPACE ARMS

FRG DAILY CRITICIZES GENSCHER'S ARMS CONTROL POLICY

DW050823 Bonn DIE WELT in German 3 Jun 85 p 2

[Herbert Kremp article: "Where Is Genscher Going?"]

[Text] Do we have a foreign policy? If so, what does it look like? Who is directing it and in what direction is it moving? Recently there has been good reason to ask these questions. Last weekend the FDP Executive came out against the FRG "participating alone" in the U.S. antimissile defense project. The FDP came out on the side of Mitterrand.

Although the chancellor expressed interest in the European technological community (Eureka) during his talks with the French president in Konstanz, he in no way rejected participation in SDI. Kohl and Genscher have held conflicting positions on this subject for months, and they are causing confusion in Bonn. However, one thing is crystal clear -- the foreign minister does not want to have anything to do with a defense system in space.

This disagreement is not limited to arms; it also applies to Eureka. The foreign minister's definition of European cooperation in the technological field is at odds with the chancellor's views. Genscher focuses on the economic goal "of maintaining Europe's leading position as an industrial area," as was decided by the party executive acting under his influence. There is no mention of military research and joint participation in SDI.

However, the chancellor does not want to exclude either option. He believes he has the support of British Foreign Secretary Howe, but not that of his own foreign minister. No one, except Genscher, knows what Eureka is and what it may become. He sees in this venture -- which does not yet exist and which Research Minister Riesenhuber views skeptically -- a means to divert attention from participation in SDI. He may believe that nobody has noticed this.

What is the reason for this double-dealing in Bonn? How did it come about that the chancellor did not receive Nicaraguan Vice President Ramirez -- who requested such a meeting -- while the foreign minister welcomed the guest and assured him of his support for the revolutionary system within the framework of the economic cooperation that the EC is trying to set up?

During a friendly meeting with Ramirez, Genscher rejected the trade embargo recently imposed by the United States on Nicaragua in such a way that Ramirez later asked publicly why Bonn's development aid for his country was still frozen if there was so much willingness to compromise. The question was logical, but there is no logic to

FRG foreign policy. Why is the foreign minister "cultivating" a nation that is a declared enemy of the United States and that violates human rights? Why does he not leave such action to the opposition? Genscher did not distance himself from Washington's policy as much as Willy Brandt has, but he did place himself between the "two superpowers" and has had his party's executive committee call for "concrete negotiating proposals as soon as possible" in Geneva. The FDP resolution sounds like a government statement from the time of the Social-Liberal coalition. The resolution states that the goal of the negotiations should be "to prevent an arms race in space and to end the one on earth." This corresponds to the desire of all peoples, as does the goal to limit and reduce nuclear weapons, and to secure strategic stability."

If you get rid of the fluff and consider the crux of the matter, you find that Kohl's coalition ally is on the old course of "pressuring" the United States. After all, who is supposed to listen to such appeals? Perhaps the Soviet leadership that is making a renewed and concentrated attempt to separate the West Europeans from the United States, and is doing so openly for everyone to see?

While Genscher is pressuring the United States, he is above all pressuring Kohl to pressure the United States. Genscher does not like the course of U.S. policy at all. The foreign minister, without clearly saying so, fears that Washington's plan to replace the strategy of the threat of mutual destruction with a strategy of missile defense will endanger the Geneva talks on arms limitation, unhinge the Western alliance, and destabilize (in particular West European) security.

Genscher is using pretexts to work against the plan, although he can hardly have failed to see that the Soviets have been pursuing similar plans, with whatever degree of success, for a long time. He intends to achieve something quite different -- namely, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, he plans "to introduce a new phase of detente," as the resolution passed last weekend states.

Anyone who knows his way around Washington and Geneva knows that the United States will not allow itself to be pressured. In any event, what is primarily involved in Geneva is the excessive Soviet arms buildup in the field of intercontinental and intermediate range missiles.

It is extremely improbable that Moscow under Gorbachev is prepared to make any important concessions beyond the level of propaganda. The reasoning of the communist superpower does not allow for a renunciation of military superiority once it has been achieved. The only thing that Moscow really fears is a technologically superior antimissile defense system in the West that could reduce the effectiveness of offensive capability. The Soviets returned to Geneva with only one goal -- to fight against this project with every political and propagandistic means at their disposal. It is their aim to kill the U.S. SDI project with the direct or indirect help of the West Europeans.

This is what they want, not detente. Genscher is returning to worn-out and disproved formulas. Moscow used the years of detente for an excessive arms buildup. Kohl must be careful that Genscher does not use a smokescreen of confusing terms to conceal a return to the previous foreign policy course.

SPACE ARMS

FRG PRESS REVIEWS KOHL MEETING WITH MITTERRAND

DW300523 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0505 GMT 29 May 85

[From the press review]

[Text] Editorialists today deal with the Mitterrand-Kohl meeting on Lake Konstanz. The daily DIE WELT writes: Europe does not have much time. Something must be done if more is to become of the loose conglomerate of EC countries than a mere community selling agricultural products. Political determination alone can help end the present European aimlessness. The meeting between Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand served this purpose. The question of whether the two statesmen were able to extricate themselves from this jungle of many particular interests and to lay the foundation for building the European union will remain open as long as nothing is being done.

We read in the Konstanz SUEDKURIER: The meeting took place at a time when many differences had accumulated between Bonn and Paris. It is true, during his two days of talks in Paris prior to the meeting in Konstanz, Foreign Minister Genscher tried to turn this discord into harmony, but he apparently was not so successful as he described it in his optimistic assessment. In an initial assessment in the foyer of the Insel Hotel in Konstanz, the chancellor spoke about a very friendly readiness to talk and the necessity of close relations between France and the Federal Republic. Francois Mitterrand fully agreed. However, he emphasized different aspects. He damped the regained harmony to which Kohl referred. Mitterrand stated quite clearly that the U.S. SDI project is assessed differently by Paris and Bonn. That can only mean that the talks have not led to agreement in this respect. Mitterrand also made no bones about the fact that their views differ on a large number of other points.

FANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU notes: Formerly, French obstinacy used to create irritation in Bonn. This time, Paris considered itself to be let down when Helmut Kohl, out of thoughtlessness or overenthusiasm about the other friend, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, deviated from the European accords which had just been reached. He declared his support for the U.S. SDI program even before the Europeans ended their consultations and he urged for the convocation of a world trade conference as soon as possible. People in Paris are aware how dependent the Federal Republic is on the United States in many areas. Since de Gaulle, it has been part of French statesmanship, therefore, not to face the FRG with the alternative of having to decide between Washington and Paris -- thus Europe. The very fact that Kohl voluntarily assumed this obligation to decide is confusing for Paris.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN holds the following view on the meeting in Konstanz: The Frenchman's annoyance at the world economic summit in Bonn where the chancellor

too easily played the U.S. card, has apparently ended. To this end, Mitterrand has made considerable concessions by approving of holding the meeting which should have taken place in France on FRG soil. However, it must be doubted whether the two now hold similar views on what Mitterrand described as open questions, differences, and obstacles. In his public statement at least, Kohl did not allow himself to be induced to hand Mitterrand a blank check for Eureka as he did to Reagan and his SDI.

Freiburg's BADISCHE ZEITUNG comments on the results of the meeting yesterday as follows: The detailed talks between the FRG and French research ministers and the setting up of a joint commission of experts is at least something. Following the meeting between Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand in Konstanz, we can state that movement has begun toward a European technology community. We could not expect much more, for example, a clear and unreserved yes by Bonn to the French Eureka project, because the Eureka project is still vague.

CSO: 5200/2653

SPACE ARMS

FRG, FRENCH RESPONSE TO 'STAR WARS' REPORTED

FRG, French Ministers To Meet

LD291101 Hamburg DPA in German 1003 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Bonn, 29 May (DPA) -- The foreign and defense ministers of France and the Federal Republic will meet in Bonn on 26 June, according to the Foreign Ministry on Wednesday. This four-man meeting was agreed on in Paris last week by French President Francois Mitterrand and Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. At this meeting the foreign and defense ministers intend to discuss the latest development in the debate on the planned U.S. missile defense in space (SDI) and to deal with the strategic problems arising from it, it was stated in responsible circles. After the FRG-French summit in Konstanz, it has become clear that there are still differences of opinion between Mitterrand and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the subject of SDI.

Schmidt Opposes Participation

LD291120 Hamburg DPA in German 0958 GMT 29 May 85

[Text] Bonn, 29 May (DPA) -- Former Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has addressed Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl directly and personally with a resolute statement against any form of participation in the U.S. research for a missile defense in space (SDI). Schmidt's letter, which was delivered to the Federal Chancellor's Office as early as last Friday, but only became known on Tuesday evening, was not commented upon either by government sources or the parties on Wednesday.

The former head of government, who has given up his restraint toward his successor for the first time with this letter and who expresses his views on topical political issues "with increasing concern," describes the piling up of differences of opinion between Bonn and Paris as "a unique event that dismays me deeply, looking back at the last 10 or 15 years." The letter, which was also addressed to the party chairmen and parliamentary group chairmen of the CDU, SPD, and FDP, has so far not been published in full. The former federal chancellor's office declined to publish it because Schmidt does not want to conduct politics "with open letters."

Neither the Federal Chancellor's Office, nor the parties of parliamentary groups, wanted to express a view on the Schmidt letter on Wednesday. However, in circles of the Foreign Ministry, which was not directly affected, Schmidt's reservations against the uncertain prospects of the SDI project and his support for the absolute priority of FRG-French cooperation have found an approving echo. Individual diplo-

SPACE ARMS

FRG FOREIGN MINISTER BACKS TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH FRANCE

LD261158 Hamburg DPA in German 1127 GMT 26 May 85

[Excerpt] Bonn, 26 May (DPA) -- Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) has spoken out in favor of the Federal Republic's technological cooperation with France. Genscher said in an interview for RIAS Berlin on Sunday that the pooling of technology as part of the Eureka project proposed by France would determine the European chances of success.

Earlier, in an interview with Radio Free Berlin, Federal Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber (CDU) had expressed doubt as to whether the Federal Republic could participate simultaneously in the U.S. SDI project and in Eureka. Joining the two projects would be difficult, not so much for financial reasons, but because of the limited number of experts available for such high technologies.

Genscher exercised restraint in commenting on the SDI research project. The U.S. invitation to participate in SDI was totally separate from the European project. However, the U.S. space project has made its presence felt and has shown Europe that it must take up the challenge in order to exist against the U.S. and Japanese competition. The Europeans will have to recognize the opportunity that exists "in pooling our strengths." The Federal Republic, together with France, is prepared to take over the political leadership in this respect.

Sources close to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU) rejected as false reports in connection with Genscher's Paris trip, according to which the European technology community took precedence over SDI for Bonn. The Federal Government wants to examine all the forms of SDI cooperation. Participation will come about only if reasonable conditions exist.

Prior to the meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand in Konstanz on Tuesday, Kohl referred to Eureka as an important question that will have to be viewed separately from the U.S. SDI project.

CSO: 5200/2653

SPACE ARMS

FRG'S GENSCHER 'ENCOURAGED' BY TALKS WITH MITTERRAND

LD231412 Hamburg DPA in German 1231 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Paris, 23 May (DPA) -- Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher feels "encouraged and supported" after his 2-day talks with French leaders about the U.S.-SDI initiative and about further EEC moves toward unification, including a European technology project. Both countries are in full agreement after the problems of the past weeks "in awareness of the need for our closest cooperation." Genscher said in Paris today at a press conference. French sources emphasized that the relations "warmed up again" after the Bonn economic summit.

Immediately before the meeting between Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Mitterrand in Bonn on Tuesday, the federal foreign minister was received, in an unusual gesture, by Mitterrand and Prime Minister Laurent Fabius. Afterwards he drew a positive lesson from this in regard to the problems of the last weeks:

The European partners who in the past have not been exactly happy about the close FRG-French cooperation, this time showed concern about the disagreement between Bonn and Paris. "Our partners, too, are aware of the importance of the FRG-French relationship for Europe," Genscher said.

Like French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, Genscher made an effort to keep the topics of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] and the European high-technology project separate. A European technology community completely independent of the U.S. initiative is necessary in order to meet the U.S. and Japanese challenges in advanced technology, both ministers emphasized. According to Genscher, the positions of the two governments have clearly moved closer together on individual questions:

Technology in Europe: France does not insist that a new agency should be created after its Eureka project. The Germans, who think of a European technology community in light of the Dooge report, see the danger of a new bureaucracy. But they consider coordinating bodies for European technology projects possible.

Alternatives must be offered in Europe to prevent the emigration of researchers to the United States, Genscher said. "We do not want to and cannot take anyone's passport away." But Europe must be prevented from technological provincialism. "If there is a resolve to take action it is never too late."

Europe: Genscher sees the EEC summit in Milan as the "hour of truth" not only for the technology question. The EEC countries must reach a clear view about future European

perspectives. Genscher supported, above all upgrading parliament's role and returning to majority decisions, which are also important with a view to EEC expansion. But the government conference about the development of Europe, planned by France, can only come about if there is agreement in Milan.

SDI: Genscher emphasized the FRG's "balanced line" without a "rash yes or no". The ministers of defense and foreign affairs of France and the FRG are to meet soon for new security policy coordinating talks, in order to define the consequences resulting from the SDI proposals for the strategic situation of the two countries.

Genscher emphasized that Bonn and Paris have the same interests, as was made clear by Mitterrand in his Bundestag speech in January 1983 about counterarming. France knows that its security does not start at the Rhine, Genscher said. The nuclear forces of France and Great Britain are important for all of Europe, since both countries thereby have the right to join the strategy discussions of the superpowers.

The suggestion that Bonn must decide between Paris and Washington is "nonsensical and stupid," Genscher emphasized. U.S. President Reagan, too, sees NATO as an alliance between North America and all of Europe, and hopes for a united Europe. But at the forthcoming NATO foreign ministers conference in Lisbon, the Europeans intend to reject the U.S. view in connection with SDI on the grounds that the current concept of deterrence is "immoral." "Our strategy of preventing war cannot be immoral," Genscher said.

CSO: 5200/2653

SPACE ARMS

FRG, SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTERS DISCUSS SDI, EUREKA

Genscher, Moran Discuss Spain's Role

LD281513 Hamburg DPA in German 1429 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Bonn, 28 May (DPA) -- Spain's future role within the European Community was the main topic of a 2-hour exchange of views for which Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher received Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran on Tuesday in Bonn. Spain, and Portugal also, will take part in the European summit conference at the end of June in Milan as observers.

As was stressed in Bonn, particular value is placed on the presence of the two future members because important questions of EC development are to be settled in Milan. Even before the entry of the two Iberian countries on 1 January 1986, the foreign ministers of Spain and Portugal will be involved in the European Political Cooperation (EPC), the foreign office revealed at the end of the talk.

Genscher and Moran also discussed the chances for technological cooperation in Europe. The backdrop for this exchange of views was based upon the French proposal for European research (Eureka) and the U.S. proposal for a missile defense system in space (SDI).

Both foreign ministers wished to discuss all topical political questions in Bonn, since their numerous meetings over the past few months dealt almost exclusively with entry matters and the Community's southern extension [to include Spain and Portugal]. For this reason, the meeting was also arranged outside the regular FRG-Spanish governmental consultations.

Moran on Eureka

LD282028 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran has been meeting Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn. In the news conference which followed their meetings, Fernando Moran announced the likelihood of Spain's and Portugal's taking part as observers in the European summit in Milan. He replied to a question from RNE as to whether Spain had already decided its position on the Eureka project.

[Begin Moran recording] Spain has replied, in a letter from me to Minister Dumas, that we are interested in the development of the ideas that may lead to the Eureka project

in the same way almost all the other countries are -- for there have been some countries that were more reticent initially, such as Great Britain -- which have also arrived at this position. However, in the case of the Eureka project -- which, as you know, puts as much emphasis on the civilian role as on the military one -- and the Strategic Defense Initiative, or SDI, there are questions for which there is still no clear verification. Hence, what we are all doing -- Spain too -- is to somewhat intensively gather information and proceed to analyse it. Then, when we have sufficient information, we will define our position, just as all the other countries are doing. And, if possible-- and this would be the wish of the Spanish Government -- this position will be in conjunction with, or at least similar to, those of the other countries in the Community.
[end recording]

CSO: 5200/2657

SPACE ARMS

EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY CONFERENCE CONDEMNED SDI

LD201405 Hamburg DPA in German 1209 GMT 30 May 85

[Excerpts] Bonn, 30 May (DPA) -- The U.S. policy to implement the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) could endanger the transatlantic alliance, in the view of social democratic politicians from Western Europe. The unanimous condemnation of Washington's SDI plans by the sixth Europe-U.S. specialist conference for security policy contains sharp criticism of the lack of consultation among the allies. The conference, held in Bonn, was organized by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which is close to the SPD.

SPD Chairman Willy Brandt repeated to the delegates the assessment he gained in Moscow that there is no cause for optimism concerning the Geneva disarmament talks, as long as the U.S. is unwilling to negotiate about SDI. On the basis of all available factual information, the SPD disarmament expert, Egon Bahr, drew the conclusion that FRG participation in the U.S. space plans, with other or alone, is impossible.

French, Norwegian, and Netherlands speakers criticized the wavering position of the Federal Government and spoke in favor of a European technological alternative.

CSO: 5200/2657

SPACE ARMS

KOHL ADVISER VIEWS POSSIBLE BENEFITS, RISKS OF SDI

AU230915 Vienna Television Service in German 1915 GMT 22 May 85

[Interview given by Horst Teltschik, adviser to Chancellor Kohl, to reporter Paul Schulmeister in Vienna; date of interview not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] Paul Schulmeister asked Horst Teltschik about the chances of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] concept and the risks involved.

[Teltschik] The risks lie in the fact that at the moment it is not foreseeable what the strategic effects of SDI will be; another risk is the question of how it will affect East-West relations altogether. The chances lie in the fact that technological developments will become possible which also are of considerable importance for the civilian sector, and that we might be able to replace a strategy of deterrence by a defense system that is no longer aimed at deploying offensive missiles for deterrence, but at preventing offensive missiles by a defense system.

[Schulmeister] The West Europeans are actually rather disunited as regards their attitude to the SDI system. Will NATO be facing another endurance test in this connection?

[Teltschik] I do not believe NATO will be facing any such endurance test, but of course a prerequisite will be that the U.S. allies now very closely consult with their European partners, that they include them in their deliberations, and that they do not make any one-sided decisions when it is being considered whether the research results should be developed and ultimately deployed. If the consultation process is ensured in this respect, there will not be any problems. But if the Americans make decisions that directly affect the Europeans' security without the Europeans' consent then it is of course possible that tensions will develop in the alliance. At the moment they -- and primarily we in the FRG -- are about to study the question of whether we are interested in cooperation -- in which sectors and under what conditions it would be expedient for the German side. This is something we should and will very shortly be talking about with the Americans. By the way, the French have been doing that since Monday.

[Schulmeister] Whatever the outcome of the SDI, it will certainly lead to incredible technical breakthroughs, and Western Europe needs these findings, which will also be applicable in the civilian sector, unless it is to fall even further behind. On the other hand, there are innumerable unresolved questions -- for example, will a conventional war then become more likely again in Western Europe. Does this mean, in other words, that SDI could plunge Europe into a kind of terrible dilemma?

[Teltschik] There are risks involved for the Europeans -- we talked about this at the beginning of this interview. But one has to see one thing quite clearly: the Europeans

naturally must realize that here the United States is about to launch a technological thrust with \$26 billion over a 5-year period. And for us Europeans this means -- and that is what we also told the Americans -- that an alliance will only function if, within this alliance, the same security continues to be ensured -- in other words, as we have said, Europe must not be disconnected from U.S. security -- this is one point.

But an alliance also means that there must be no decisive gap in the economic and high technology development among alliance partners. This means that if the Western Europeans and the FRG say that there is no point in our cooperation with the U.S. research program on the conditions offered by the Americans, the Europeans must think about technological alternatives of their own -- that is what the French, for example, are aiming at with their Eureka European technology project. This is precisely the right idea, which we are also pursuing. That is to say in this case the Europeans would also have to develop a European research program of their own to prevent the development of a technological gap between the United States and ourselves.

CSO: 5200/2654

SPACE ARMS

KOHL, MITTERRAND DISCUSS 'STAR WARS,' EUREKA

Kohl, Mitterrand Conversations

LD281529 Paris Domestic Service in French 1500 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Relations between Bonn and Paris are on a good course. The conversation on the shores of Lake Konstanz between Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand lasted 1 and 1/2 hours, 30 minutes more than planned. At the end of the meeting Mitterrand said it had gone very well. He added: Very well, very well, in reply to a journalist. He refused to make any other comments however, and said that neither Chancellor Kohl nor he will talk to the press at the end of the day.

'Evident Divergence' of Views

AU281837 Paris AFP in English 1818 GMT 28 May 85

[Text] Konstanz, West Germany, May 28 (AFP)-- A one-day summit here between French President Francois Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has ended with neither leader announcing any progress on resolving differences over the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative.

There is an "evident divergence" of views, Mr Mitterrand said before leaving for Paris. But he added that the U.S. effort, a research program into space-based anti-nuclear missile defense, and his own proposal for Western European research, Eureka, "are not competitive projects."

Differences emerged between Bonn and Paris during the summit earlier this month of the seven leading non-communist industrialized nations where Mr Mitterrand announced that France would not take part in the U.S. initiative, popularly known as "star wars." Instead, he has sought to promote the Eureka project.

At the Bonn summit Mr Kohl said the U.S. effort was justifiable and he announced today that a team of West German experts would go to Washington to "verify the various preliminary conditions" that would apply to West German participation. Mr Kohl also cited "the vital necessity" for Western Europe to perfect its technology in light of developments in the United States and Japan, but that appeared to be the extent of his publicly announced commitment to Eureka. He said further discussion between the research ministers of both countries would be held in 15 days, followed by meetings of experts.

But the chancellor seemed to back away from statements made in Paris last week by his Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Mr Genscher had expressed his faith in the Eureka project, regardless of the reaction by Western Europe to President Ronald Reagan's

initiative. Mr Kohl's remarks suggested that the debate within the Bonn government to determine which project would have priority has not yet been resolved.

President Mitterrand acknowledged that on Mr Reagan's invitation to join the U.S. endeavor he and Mr Kohl adhered to different approaches. But he nevertheless hailed the "very positive" declarations by the chancellor on Western European development.

Today's encounter, therefore, would indicate that preparation will be difficult for the summit of EEC heads of state and government June 28 and 29 in Milan. Community leaders appeared to have been hoping for some progress on the future of EEC technological research to detract from expected disagreements on such issues as Western European political union and reform of EEC institutions.

'Very Good Atmosphere'

LD281645 Hamburg DPA in German 1533 GMT 28 May 85

[Excerpt] Konstanz, 28 May (DPA) -- Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand have emphasized the fundamental importance of FRG-French relations for the development of a politically unified Europe. Technological cooperation between the two countries is to be intensified but differences continue to exist about participation in the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI]. This was made clear by both politicians at the end of almost 4 hours of talks this afternoon in Konstanz.

Without going into details, Mitterrand told journalists that France's position on the SDI is known. But this is no reason for exaggerated conclusions, the French president said. Kohl said an FRG commission of experts will travel to Washington shortly to examine the scope for participation in SDI. There are still a number of open questions, the chancellor said. Afterward there will be talks with the French about it.

On French proposals for a European technology community, Eureka, Kohl said it is vital for Europe to further develop its own capabilities next to Japan and the United States. Within the next 14 days research ministers from the two countries are to discuss Eureka further. In addition, a commission of experts from industry, administration, and science is to be formed.

Kohl spoke of "very friendly readiness to talk" on both sides. Mitterrand answered "yes, yes" to a question from a French journalist about whether relations will improve again after the present differences. A member of the chancellor's staff spoke of a "very good atmosphere" at the talks.

In response to a question about whether there has been any closing of the gap in the SDI question, Kohl said there will be further discussion of this today during a boat trip. Mitterrand, too, said the day is not yet over.

The chancellor expressed hope that as a result of the talks there will be a significant step in the development of a political union at the Milan EC summit on 28 June. People should not see Europe merely as a theoretical concept. Both Kohl and Mitterrand will meet with Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi in the near future to prepare for the EC summit.

No details were given about other topics at the talks. The agenda is likely to have included the question of a new GATT agreement as well as the grain price problem in the EC.

SPACE ARMS

EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS CRITICIZE U.S. SDI PROGRAM

PM070753 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 May 85 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The European Socialist Parties Think Mr Reagan's Plan Is Dangerous to Collective Security"]

[Text] Twelve European socialist parties representing France, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the FRG, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece met at PS headquarters in Paris on Tuesday 28 May to discuss the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] and the Eureka plan put forward by Mr Francois Mitterrand.

Jacques Huntzinger, PS national secretariat member for international relations, said that the socialist parties expressed "more detailed concern and criticism" about the SDI, although the PSI took a "subtler" position, according to him. The socialist parties from neutral countries did not express any position. Mr Huntzinger said that these criticisms had been "clearer" than those expressed during the Madrid conference which recently brought together the European socialist parties.

According to Mr Huntzinger, the European socialists think that the SDI project is dangerous to collective security, that it is a technological challenge to Europe and, ultimately, could be dangerous to European security, by increasing the risk of a "decoupling" of Europe and the United States.

The PS representative also explained the Eureka plan to the European socialists present. He said that First Secretary Lionel Jospin, who concluded the meeting, stressed: "Eureka is not an alternative to the SDI, it is a reaction to the SDI." Mr Jospin said that the precondition for Eureka's success is European political will, a flexible and practicable structure, and collective participation.

Mr Huntzinger also said that France could put forward two or three specific projects in the framework of the Eureka program before the forthcoming European summit in Milan.

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

FRANCE'S HERNU SETS UP SPACE DEFENSE STUDY GROUP

PM110926 Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Jun 85 p 11

[Jacques Isnard report: "Mr Hernu Sets Up Space Headquarters"]

[Text] Defense Minister Charles Hernu has asked two general officers to head a working group with the task of giving a space dimension to French defense policy and to propose ideas on this subject to the government.

This joint body of the Armed Forces General Staff and the General Delegation for Armaments is not intended to radically change the current lines of defense policy, which remains based on the nuclear deterrent. Headed by Air Force General Jean Fleury, who is deputy chief for "organization" in the Armed Forces General Staff, and by Engineer General Jean Sandeau, director for missiles in the General Delegation for Armaments, this interarmy body is no way the equivalent of what has been set up in the United States, namely the Strategic Defense Initiative organization under General James Abrahamson, which has the job of directing technological research relating to ABM or antisatellite space defense.

"Deterrence is still the only credible defense system," Mr Hernu explained in an interview with the monthly ARMEES AUJOURD'HUI, but the future cannot be limited to the modernization of our nuclear force, vital though that is. We must plan our presence in space, because that dimension is essential to our defense."

A few days before this interview for the Defense Ministry periodical, Mr Hernu was even more categorical when addressing a civilian and military audience at the Higher National Defense Studies Institute in Paris. "The oceans and space are the spheres in which we can have a presence and influence," the minister said. "Naval strategy and a presence in space are particularly vital since they are open areas even when legal rules apply, like the Law of the Sea or space law." Meanwhile the head of state himself admitted during the commissioning of the nuclear submarine Inflexible that "the strategy will necessarily be a space strategy" and said that this would happen in 50 years' time.

Without having the same ambitions as the U.S. SDI organization, France's own Armed Forces working group aims to define priorities, determine possible programs, and suggest the most appropriate organization for subsequent action. This is the first time that "operatives" -- scientists and engineers -- have been assembled in this way in a single structure responsible for space studies.

The Key Element of Crisis

Unlike the U.S., which is launching studies to develop a space rampart against incoming enemy missiles at the beginning of the next century, the French envisage setting up a network of satellites giving command constant control over its forces in the field: reconnaissance satellites, listening satellites, and telecommunications satellites. All these satellites contribute to command, control, and communications in all circumstances and in all places.

France has already installed equipment for military radiocommunication by satellite on the Telecom-I stellite put into orbit in August 1984, and a complete network of reliable, protected, and instantaneous space links between commands is planned with the Syracuse system which will be added to the existing national network, the World Interarmy Communications Organization.

Similarly France has proposed to the FRG the joint construction of a space military observation system (so-called spy satellites) which might call for proven technologies (like photographic observation) or more advanced technology (like infrared or electromagnetic reconnaissance). These reconnaissance and listening satellites make it possible to keep a tactical situation up to date on the battlefield and to analyze the enemy battle order. "The key element of a crisis," the defense minister explained, "is information. That is why we pay the greatest attention to these questions in our thinking aimed at defining the priorities of our space policy. Indeed we need to be able to see, listen, and communicate permanently, and the satellite is a tool which is well suited to these missions."

With the establishment of this general staff for space, Mr Hernu's advisers are strongly emphasizing the idea that the desired pánoply is "peaceful" and not aggressive, unlike the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative, which threatens to upset the balance of deterrence.

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

FRG FOREIGN MINISTER PROPOSED 'COORDINATED RESPONSE' ON SDI

AU221432 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Paris, May 22 (AFP) -- West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher today urged Western Europe to work together to develop a "technological community" and give a "coordinated response" to the proposed U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). "Europe can not allow itself to lag behind in the high technology field," he said in a speech before the seven-member West European Union (WEU), of which he is acting president. "Europe must not drop to the rank of sub-contractor or supplier, but combine its technological abilities to be an equal partner with the United States," he said.

Mr. Genscher arrived here today for two days of talks with President Francois Mitterrand and other officials on a proposal by France last month, called the Eureka project, promoting European cooperation in the development of high technology. Its aim is to give Europe an independent, competitive role in this domain. Mr. Genscher has already endorsed the Eureka project. Informed sources in Bonn today said about two dozen senior French and German government experts met in the West German capital yesterday to discuss concrete possibilities for such cooperation, in the areas of computers, telecommunications, robots and lasers.

Today, Mr. Genscher said that the WEU partners -- Belgium, Britain, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany -- agree with France that Europe "must strengthen its own technological capacities in order to create a technological community."

Britain yesterday reversed its earlier hesitation over the Eureka project, stating that it believed it was compatible with the SDI, or so-called "star wars" research project.

He acknowledged that the United States had a "considerable advance" over Europe in certain sectors, but that projects like the Airbus airliner, the Ariane launch rocket and the Spacelab space laboratory showed that Europe "is capable of high-quality performances." He recommended that projects and research fields be defined to avoid overlapping efforts and to coordinate work with already existing agencies, such as the European Space Agency. Mr. Genscher also confirmed that the WEU wanted, "as much as possible, to coordinate the reaction of member states" to Washington's proposal to its allies to take part in the "Star Wars" research, but that this would depend on "national surveys."

WEU members reportedly have serious differences over the SDI, which was said to be behind the decision by the WEU Defense Committee, only hours before the current session opened Monday, to postpone official discussion of the U.S. space-based missile defense project

until the December meeting. They were expected this week to try to coordinate their response to the multi-billion dollar plan. The postponement was criticized by some WEU members as removing credibility from pledges to "reactivate" the assembly, which is the sole European organization with jurisdiction over defense matters. France has rejected any participation in the SDI as it now stands, and West Germany this week toned down its earlier strong backing for the program.

"Because the security interests of Europeans are identical we want to respond in a coordinated matter: No one should single themselves out, and no one should be singled out," Mr. Genscher said.

Mr. Genscher met earlier today with his French counterpart, Roland Dumas, and is to hold talks tomorrow with Prime Minister Laurent Fabius. The Eureka project will also be discussed by President Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl when they meet in Bonn next Tuesday, and then again at the European Economic Community summit in Milan on June 28 and 29.

CSO: 5200/2657

SPACE ARMS

FRANCE'S DUMAS SAYS EUREKA MAY STRENGTHEN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES

AU111720 Paris AFP in English 1716 GMT 11 Jun 85

[Text] Paris, June 11 (AFP) -- The Eureka project, a Western European effort to boost high technology development, could eventually contribute to strengthening the region's defensive capacities, French External Relations Minister Roland Dumas said here today. Mr Dumas, addressing the National Assembly, said that while Eureka is essentially a non-military endeavor, advances made in data processing, robotics and high energy physics could be used to "increase the capacity of Europe to assure its own security."

Without naming U.S. President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) -- the so-called "star wars" space defense project -- Mr Dumas warned against the mirage of false security." He said deterrence, which has guaranteed nuclear equilibrium and peace, must be maintained.

SDI calls for research into the possibility of establishing a space-based anti-nuclear missile shield. France, unlike some of its key allies in the 10-member European economic community, has declined President Reagan's invitation to participate in the effort and has been promoting Eureka instead.

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

FRENCH RESEARCH MINISTER ON EUREKA

Defends Ambitious Projects

PM121351 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 5 Jun 85 pp 3-5

[Interview with French Research Minister Hubert Curien by Pascal Richard and Christian Gerin; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] LE QUOTIDIEN: What stage has been reached with the Eureka project? What is its timetable?

Hubert Curien: We were keen to approach our partners with an open agenda so that it can be a truly European project. The further I proceed with my deliberations and contacts the more I realize that Eureka will really take off when European industrialists take an interest in it. I am pleased to be able to tell you that at a dinner to present Eureka to the managing directors of France's major enterprises, I encountered a very direct interest on their part. This interest will be much greater once the objects or systems to which they will be invited to contribute have been clearly defined. It is necessary to define ambitious objects and systems -- this is the idea behind Eureka -- to drive European technology forward by means of ambitious projects. The example of Hermes (the European space shuttle -- LE QUOTIDIEN editor's note) is clear: It will act as a driving force behind European technology. Another example is mastery of microelectronics, which will permit the creation of high-performance weapons, computers, new-generation rockets, and flexible workshop robotics. Within 10-15 years Eureka should produce some very advanced know-how for our industries.

LE QUOTIDIEN: Will France be in the vanguard of this program?

Hubert Curien: A project does not really advance unless it is led with determination, which is why there must be a boss at the head of an enterprise. Eureka combines a number of topics -- data processing, communications, space, and so forth. There will be a leader in charge of each variable geometry project. That does not mean that Eureka must become a bone of contention among the European countries. France, like all the four major European countries, has the means to act as a driving force.

LE QUOTIDIEN: In which specific field could France act as leader?

Hubert Curien: Space, of course. I also have in mind a very advanced data processing project -- a major computer -- and an advanced telecommunications project.

LE QUOTIDIEN: Will France's participation in Eureka be financed from the research budget?

Hubert Curien: The state could provide money but the project will not be financed solely by state subsidies. Eureka is principally the concern of businessmen. State intervention will be limited.

Emphasizes 'Civilian' Uses

DW130545 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 12 Jun 85 p 2

[Interview with Minister of Research and Technology Hubert Curien by correspondent Hans-Hagen Bremer in Paris; date not given]

[Text] [Bremer] Mr Minister, there is an impression that the Eureka project is a tactical improvisation rather than a long-term strategy. Is that a wrong impression?

[Curien] Eureka is neither improvised nor tactical. It is a coincidence that it was made public at the same time the U.S. Secretary of Defense was asking the Europeans to decide on cooperation in the SDI program within a 60-day period. SDI induced us to submit our proposals more rapidly.

[Bremer] What is Eureka supposed to be?

[Curien] We want all European countries to hold their positions among the technologically leading countries. If we do not make this leap forward, our industry will run the serious risk of systematically becoming a contractor for the United States and possibly even for Japan, and thus it will be in danger of losing its competitiveness.

[Bremer] The areas of research of SDI and Eureka are largely identical. Is that a coincidence?

[Curien] It may look as if this were the case. SDI is largely concerned with modern technology but, on the other hand, it has not been specifically defined by individual projects. The fact that certain areas overlap with Eureka is nothing unusual. We intend to set up our projects in line with our interests. For example, biotechnology is not taken into account in SDI.

[Bremer] SDI will be a military research program, and Eureka a civilian one. Will the results be equally utilized for civilian as well as military purposes?

[Curien] Many European countries do not like the idea of mobilizing industry for military purposes. Therefore, European cooperation must first of all cover civilian areas, particularly if we want to win over countries like Austria, Switzerland, or Sweden. Progress in the field of data processing [informatik] is decisive for civilian as well as military programs because the same integrated circuits and computers are utilized. However, Eureka was conceived on the basis of its intended civilian use.

[Bremer] Are there any concrete projects yet that could be decided on at the next EC summit?

[Curien] Agreements are possible in the fields of data processing, communications, and biotechnology. This could be brought up by the heads of governments when they meet in Milano in late June.

[Bremer] How about other work fields such as optronics, high-speed computers, micro-data-processing, lasers, and new materials?

[Curien] In this respect, the governments and interested enterprises will have to continue to define projects. However, I think we will soon have about 10 programs.

[Bremer] Do you have any idea of the costs and financing?

[Curien] First of all, we must define the programs. Then the costs can be estimated. It will not be possible to finance them without further efforts. However, this does not constitute a revolution in the research budgets.

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

FRENCH PRESS VIEWS CHALLENGE SET BY SDI PROGRAM

PM111427 Paris LE FIGARO in French 6 Jun 85 p 1

[Jean Francois-Poncet editorial: "Star Wars"]

[Text] President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] is now dominating the international debate; it determines the course of the American-Soviet negotiations in Geneva; it is a major factor in the current Franco-German problems, whatever people say; and it will be a focal point for the Atlantic deliberations in Lisbon today and tomorrow.

If the allies, especially the Europeans, do not quickly harmonize their positions, their disagreements are likely to degenerate into a disagreement which will benefit the USSR alone.

Three observations seem essential at this stage.

1 -- It is urgent to get rid of the illusions surrounding the subject. No defense, not even space defense, will abolish nuclear weapons or eliminate the threat of a holocaust: this is the virtually unanimous verdict of the American scientific community. It is not that the new weapons -- ABM missiles, laser or particle beams -- change nothing or even, as many people across the Atlantic think, that they cannot make a contribution to the balance on which the preservation of peace depends. But it would be ridiculous for France to think that they seal the fate of our nuclear forces as for the world to dream that the era opened by the Hiroshima bomb is going to end. The new weapons will make it necessary for old ones to be adapted, not to disappear.

2 -- Once the myths have been dispelled, the real problems remain. Technological progress can help to strengthen or undermine the strategic balance, revive or control the arms race; it is as fraught with dangers as it is full of promise. If we wish to try to control it instead of being swept along by it, the SDI must be negotiable. And it must be negotiable not in 5 or 10 years, as Mrs Thatcher has been assured it will, but immediately. Negotiation does not mean abandoning it but determining the conditions and limits within which defensive weapons might become part of the balance of deterrence without destroying it and thus contribute to the world's security.

3 -- Europe could not remain outside development which will alter the nature of its own security and will have all kinds of technological repercussions. It must not react in a divided way either. The Eureka project is, therefore, based on a good intention, but it lacks a military purpose and a strategic concept common to all the allies. However, without the first it will not be credible and, without the second, will not lend itself to negotiated coordination with the U.S. program.

This is the daunting challenge which "star wars" is making to the Europeans' courage, lucidity, and cohesion.

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

ITALY'S ANDREOTTI SAYS TIME NOT RIPE FOR ALLIES SDI STANCE

AU072019 Rome ANSA in English 2000 GMT 7 Jun 85

[Text] (ANSA) Estoril, Portugal, June 7 -- "(?The appeal) of the Atlantic Council to the new Soviet leadership to join us (?in) seeking improved East-West relations is not formal and conventional," Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti said here at the end of the NATO session today. "This is the important element of the conclusion," he added.

Andreotti stressed that the overall assessment of East-West relations as "not negative" compared to previous occasions. Yesterday Andreotti had called on his colleagues to respond to signs of change from Moscow. "It was a good thing that everyone agreed to do so," he said. Andreotti said he does not consider the Atlantic Council's position on the "star wars" program "ambiguous" and stressed that the allies of the United States were unanimous in saying it would be a "very (?grave) error" not to continue observing the Salt 2 strategic arms treaty, which the U.S. Congress has never ratified and which expires at the end of the (?year).

With respect to the "star wars" program, Andreotti said the European allies had already decided to draft a position of their own and find a convergence within the Western European Union next fall. (?According) to the Italian minister the time was not ripe in Estoril for an Atlantic statement on the SDI since even "the Americans are still defining some aspects of the initiative."

Asked whether cooperation between industries could go ahead while the governments draft their positions, Andreotti said "It's not new that European companies work with American companies. It would be negative if public companies were in a position of inferiority to others. But governments' positions must be based on a careful examination of all the aspects of "star wars", not only industrial questions."

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION UNIT VOTES TO POSTPONE SDI DEBATE

AU212027 Rome ANSA in English 1940 GMT 21 May 85

[Text] (ANSA) Paris, May 21 -- President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative drove a wedge into the Defense Committee of the Western European parliamentary assembly today when a vote cast by the members signalled the postponement of debate on the five-year 26 billion-dollar program until the assembly's December session. The ballot, taken during the 31st spring session of the WEU assembly in progress here through Thursday, was 11 to 7 in favor of withdrawing a report on new technologies and defense strategy drafted by a member of the Defense Committee, Harry van den Bergh, a Labor M.P. from the Netherlands.

The delay in opening discussion on the American SDI triggered by the rejection of the report, most of which is dedicated to the "star wars" missile defense system, dismayed many of the MPs here. The Dutch MP who authored the document said the committee's handling of it was "absolutely incomprehensible and counterproductive." Speaking to newsmen at the end of the session, Van den Bergh said the rejection, by Christian Democrats, Liberals and British Conservatives on the committee, "undermined the credibility" of the entire assembly which, by shunting aside the report on SDI and defense matters, is abandoning debate "on more vital current issues just when there is talk, evidently wrong, of reactivating" the WEU.

The report on a range of considerations bound up with Atlantic alliance defense was described as written with a "strictly anti-American" point of view in a statement made by a British M.P.

According to the author, the present system of "dissuasion" based on nuclear balance is compromised by the "star wars" project which would leave Europe "uncovered." Van den Bergh, supported by the assembly left, affirmed that in these conditions Europeans would be better off creating new international consortiums whose products would assure the continent of the maximum possible independence in military hardware and defense. This is required, he insists, because European participation in SDI research would be not very profitable on the economic level and would not be decisive for the transfer of leading edge technology from the U.S. to Europe.

CSO: 5200/2657

SPACE ARMS

SPAIN STUDYING SDI, EUREKA PROJECTS

PM071413 Madrid ABC in Spanish 31 May 85 p 27

[EUROPA PRESS report: "Foreign Ministry in Favor of Setting Terms for U.S. Strategic Defense Projects"]

[Text] Madrid -- The Foreign Ministry believes that a possible Spanish participation in the Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] project proposed by the United States in order to counter Soviet nuclear weapons should observe balanced treatment both of the political and of the strategic, economic, and technological aspects.

According to the source of information, the Foreign Ministry has been conducting various studies on the U.S. proposal since it was made public in March 1983. These studies, it specified, have been adjusted to the changes which have arisen in the project over the past 2 years. At the same time, it added, the issue has been discussed with representatives of other countries on the occasion of the contacts maintained during this period.

In the Foreign Ministry's opinion, it stated, one of the basic criteria is to take into account the political, strategic, economic and technological aspects and give them balanced treatment without concentrating excessively on any of them.

According to other reliable sources, these studies, just like others which are being conducted by the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Industry, and the prime minister's office itself, will serve to shape the response which Spain makes to the project.

In any case, they specified, the United States has set no deadline for making a response. It is a serious and highly important matter, which must be thoroughly pondered.

As for the Eureka project, the senior Foreign Ministry official pointed out that, rather than a plan, this is an idea put forward in order to create a technological Europe. "Spain," he said, "is in favor of strengthening European technology, which undoubtedly helps our country. We must not be left out, because we are clearly not a great technological power."

"Moreover," he added, "the important role which the private sector could play in this whole process must not be forgotten."

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

SPAIN SUPPORTS EUREKA PROJECT

LD071046 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 7 Jun 85

[Text] Spain supports the European plan for high technology research known as the Eureka project. Luis Serrano reports from Lisbon: A Spanish team in Estoril has formed part of the working group created to study the Eureka project -- the civil alternative to the U.S. space research program -- as proposed by France. Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran has commented on the letter written to his French counterpart, Roland Dumas, which expressed Spain's desire to participate in specific technology projects at a European level in accordance with our country's possibilities. I believe that we are going to participate in Eureka, Fernando Moran said, and we can also do something in the SDI, or "star wars", because they are not incompatible projects.

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

PORUGAL'S GAMA, LOPEZ DISCUSS EUREKA, 'STAR WARS'

PM071055 Lisbon DAIRIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 28 May 85 p 2

[Article by Luis Delgado: "Portugal Has Not (Yet) Said Eureka"]

[Excerpts] Portugal has not yet espoused the Eureka project. "We are at the reflection stage, and it would be absurd to talk about formally espousing a project whose shape is not yet sufficiently defined." This remark was made by Foreign Minister Jaime Gama about the tone used in the letter sent to his French counterpart, Roland Dumas, expressing the Portuguese Government's conviction that "Europe has a duty to face up with determination to the technological challenge which the developments of the past few years have created." So there is no formal espousal, at least for the present.

How is the tone of the letter sent to Paris to be explained? "I will not conceal the connection with the application to join the West European Union and Portugal's wish to assert itself in Europe, not only at the scientific, technical, and economic levels but also in the area of security and defense," the foreign minister told DAIRIO DE NOTICIAS, and cited another explanation: "The Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] was appraised during President Reagan's visit, and with a view to maintaining the correct balance in relations with the two countries, it would have been extremely suspicious not to reply to the French foreign minister."

"I do not rule out the possibility of one or more Portuguese scientists taking part in the SDI or in Eureka," Jaime Gama told our newspaper, after stressing that "a Portuguese scientist recently visited Brussels to study the SDI," and that the Foreign Ministry is waiting for the French authorities to explain their plan more clearly.

As for the reply to be made to Caspar Weinberger's letter -- in which he seeks Portuguese participation in the SDI, as in the participation of all NATO countries -- our foreign minister confined himself to reaffirming the known stances on the matter: Further clarification is awaited; it is expected that it will be debated by the alliance, which will happen at the NATO ministerial meeting in Estoril; and it is desired that the SDI should not call into question the treaty on antiballistic missiles (ABM) signed by the United States and the USSR, or contribute to the deterioration in East-West relations. Gama added a fourth point: "The effects of the SDI on the strategy of deterrence pursued by the alliance must be debated."

Only afterward will the Portuguese Government reply to the invitation extended by Weinberger; that is, not until the allies have finally decided on one or both options. "It would be disproportionate for Portugal to assume a leading role in that debate. However, our country's involvement in Europe and its status as a NATO member require that it be an active participant in that debate."

"On a personal basis, I have proposed the setting up of a scientific team to go to the United States and study the prospects for Portugal to take part in the SDI." This is the proposal made by Secretary of State for Defense Figueiredo Lopes, who acknowledged to DAIRIO DE NOTICIAS that "the Ministry of Defense has not been consulted about the Eureka project."

In Lopez' opinion, this is "normal," since the direct participants in the process are the foreign ministers. In spite of this, Figueiredo Lopes accepts as valid "the similarity between Eureka and the SDI."

In his opinion, our country has only two choices on the U.S. program, to which the Ministry of Defense will respond: "Either we conclude that the project is of no interest to Portugal and reject it," or else, "and only after having full knowledge of the program," our country decides to cooperate in the research and development of "some subareas" of the SDI.

Does this apply only to the U.S. project? "No," the secretary of state for defense said: "Both to the SDI and to Eureka."

Nevertheless, Figueiredo Lopes showed himself skeptical about the likely benefits which our country could gain from participating in these programs. "Portugal has little to give and little to gain, both with the SDI and with Eureka."

CSO: 5200/2651

SPACE ARMS

WEST GERMAN SPD LEADER COMPARED EUREKA, 'STAR WARS'

OW311321 Tokyo KYODO in English 1054 GMT 31 May 85

[Text] Tokyo, May 31 KYODO -- Eureka, a project for high technology development in Europe, proposed by France, could establish "a strong and confident Europe," according to Hans-Jochen Vogel, a German opposition leader. Vogel is the parliamentary chairman of the West German Social Democratic party (SPD) which was in power from 1966 to 1982. The chairman, who was a candidate for chancellorship in 1982 and is one of the possible contenders for the post in the 1987 contest, opposes U.S. President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), while current Chancellor Helmut Kohl has showed a basically supportive attitude. "Realization of the Eureka scheme is possible if France and Germany cooperate," Vogel said, "then the other European countries would join the projects and it could make Europe the second pillar of the Western alliance John F. Kennedy called for in 1961-62."

He is on a week-long visit to Japan to meet Japanese political and economic leaders, inspect Japanese industrial facilities and seek ways to promote German exports. In a recent interview with KYODO Vogel discussed Reagan's SDI, German policies in connection with the next national elections and relations between West and East Germany, as well as the Japan-Germany relationship.

"I understand the Western alliance as a sharing of basic awareness on the democratic social system and the limitation of state power over individuals," Vogel said. "However, it does not mean for us to accept anything and everything from the alliance's leading power, the United States, without discussion," he said, adding: "we reject SDI." The SDI issue has been the most serious difference between France and West Germany since the recent Bonn economic summit on European and world trade issues. Kohl and Mitterrand met Tuesday this week in Konstanz, West Germany, to discuss the difference and could not reach agreement. Instead of SDI, France proposed its own high technology "Eureka" plan at the meeting. Germany is said to have expressed interest but no cooperation has been decided yet. Stagnation in Europe has caused the two countries to fall behind world levels in high technology. Mitterrand's high tech plan is one of his strategies to catch up.

"After the last national elections, I thought the SPD would stay in opposition until at least 1991, but there is a chance for us in the next elections," he said, adding that his party hopes to get the greater portion of the vote. The SPD made sizeable gains in recent state elections, with Johannes Rau winning the governorship of North-Rhine Westphalia and the SPD also winning in the Saarland. Vogel said Kohl and his government's poor policies in such areas as social welfare have led to high unemployment -- some 9.3 percent, the highest in the nation's history. He said this benefits the SPD. "The SPD's candidate for the next chancellorship election will be decided one year and three months prior to the election," the parliamentary chairman said, and suggested that either he or Nordrhein-Westfalen Minister President Johannes Rau will be named to contest the position.

SPACE ARMS

BRIEFS

TURKEY SUPPORTS 'STAR WARS'--Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu, currently in Lisbon to attend the NATO ministerial council, has said that Turkey should not be left outside the "star wars" program. During a statement to Turkish newsmen, Halefoglu recalled that Turkey is carefully pursuing developments in the field "star wars," adding that this project will materialize through the contributions of highly technologically-advanced countries. Pointing out that even before their countries made a final decision on the issue, various industrial firms and institutions had already applied to the United States, Halefoglu said the question is the size of Turkey's share in this cake. He added that Turkey could benefit, while contributing to the project in the technological and scientific fields. He announced that an organization will be formed in Turkey with the aim of examining the project. [Text] [(Clandestine) Bayrak Radio in Turkish to Cyprus 0500 GMT 7 Jun 85]

CSO: 5200/2645

SALT/START ISSUES

SOVIET MEDIA VIEWS U.S. TRIDENT SUB LAUNCHINGS, SALT II LIMITS

Seventh Sub Will Violate Accord

PM281349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 85 First Edition p 5

[Article by Vitaliy Gan: "Course Toward Sabotage"]

[Text] The U.S. course toward sabotaging the agreements on arms limitation and reduction is acquiring increasingly sinister outlines. The new Trident submarine has just been launched in New London, Connecticut. This is the U.S. Navy's sixth submarine of this class, of the 20 planned by the Pentagon.

Equipped with 24 first-strike strategic missiles, the Tridents will ultimately comprise the basis of the U.S. naval forces. Another five similar submarines are now at the equipment stage. The launching of the present missile-carrying submarine, named the Alabama, again raises very keenly the question of the Reagan administration's attitude toward the Soviet-U.S. SALT II treaty, concluded but, through Washington's fault, not actually ratified. As of now, just one Trident submarine separates the United States from its overt and ostentatious violation. It is well known that the Pentagon is planning to embark this September on performance tests on the latest, the seventh, of these submarines, which will mark the U.S. side's exceeding of the limits agreed under SALT II.

Many U.S. newspapers point out that Washington is now in the grips of a "fierce struggle" between the supporters and opponents of the further observance of this very important and topical accord. According to THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, its "supporters in Congress and in the camp of those in favor of arms control warn that this step will remove the only factor guaranteeing stability in the correlation of the two powers' nuclear forces."

However, the perfectly legitimate worries and sensible arguments are being countered by an irrepressible attraction toward ever new dangerous heights in the intensification of militarization and the building up of the arms race. The powerful grouping of top Pentagon officials supported by the U.S. military-industrial complex is making efforts, NEWSWEEK reports, to "take advantage of the moment" to destroy the whole system of accords in the arms limitation field. Here their main "arguments" are the utterly phony allegations, frequently disproved by documentary evidence, that the Soviet Union is not fulfilling its SALT II commitments.

In the atmosphere of artificially orchestrated anti-Soviet hysteria, gross slander is having success in certain U.S. circles that are thus demonstrating their shortsightedness and their inability to distinguish lies from facts. In this connection we cannot fail to be put on guard by the position of the White House, which is constantly reiterating the phony stories of the opponents of the curbing of the arms race.

However it may be, it is absolutely clear that the disruption of the existing agreements would deal a grave blow to the security of the peoples including, of course, the U.S. people. Sanity and responsibility for the destiny of peace urgently dictate not the rejection but the immediate consolidation of measures which could guarantee mankind the sacred right to life.

Exceeds SALT II Limits

OW290047 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0950 GMT 28 May 85

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] In looking at space problems we have to recall that 13 years ago the Soviet-U.S. agreement on cooperation in space research for peaceful purposes was signed. At the same time, at the end of May 1972, a whole series of important treaties and agreements was concluded between our country and the United States. They included the permanent agreement on limiting antiballistic missile systems, the interim agreement on certain measures in the sphere of limiting strategic offensive weapons, and finally the document on the basis of mutual relations between the USSR and the United States.

At the time, 13 years ago, these mutual relations, it seems, were being placed on a normal, good-neighborly basis and the successful realization of the Soviet-U.S. Soyuz-Apollo space flight was perhaps the most vivid example of this. Subsequently, however, Soviet-U.S. relations deteriorated and at times they reach the verge of extreme tension.

Responsibility for the situation is borne by the ruling circles of the United States. It is they, after all, that openly pretend to the right of interference everywhere, from Nicaragua to Afghanistan; they ignore and often even violate the interests of other countries, traditions of international intercourse, and treaties and agreements in force.

Presently the question of the Reagan administration's attitude to the Soviet-U.S. arms limitation treaty--the so-called SALT-II Treaty--is particularly acute. I will recall, comrades, that this treaty was signed in June 1979 but has still not been ratified by Washington. Nevertheless, the Washington administration declared that it planned to adhere to the treaty's provisions. However, what do we see in reality?

Just the other day a new submarine armed with 24 strategic Trident missiles was launched at a U.S. shipyard. Another side is obviously exceeding the limits agreed to under the SALT-II Treaty.

Impact on Geneva Talks

LD282231 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 28 May 85

[From the "World Today" Program presented by Valeriy Korzon; announced-read report]

[Text] The Washington correspondent of the British newspaper the SUNDAY TIMES has reported that in a few days' time President Reagan's foreign policy advisers are to examine a secret document concerning one of the important questions of U.S. policy in the sphere of arms control: They will be deciding whether the United States should continue observing the conditions of the SALT-II Treaty, despite the fact that it has never been ratified. The validity of this treaty, by the way, expires on 31 December 1985. However, as soon as mid-September a new U.S. atomic submarine, "Alaska," armed with Trident nuclear missiles, is to start its sea trials. If in Washington the order is not given to dismantle a number of the missiles already on this submarine by the time it enters the sea, the United States will exceed their ceiling as established in the SALT-II treaty.

As is well known, this treaty was until recently observed by both sides. We have declared repeatedly that we do not intend to violate it and that SALT-II plays a positive role in the countries' mutual relations. This is also understood by sober-minded people in the United States itself. The other day four senators from different parties--two Republicans and two Democrats--sent a message to Reagan calling on him not to undermine the positions set out in SALT-II. Many diplomats are concerned by the thought of the reaction from the United States' European allies if this treaty is abandoned. Their support can hardly be counted on. In the view of many observers, the U.S. Congress will also probably react sharply to such a rejection. The papers are writing that many officials think that now the most important thing is progress at the Geneva talks. Well, the torpedoing of SALT-II will hardly facilitate that.

Violation Imminent

LD311918 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 31 May 85

["Encroachments Upon the SALT-II Treaty"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS -- TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Washington, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper, is now in the midst of a fierce fight between the supporters and opponents of the observance by the United States of the treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms (SALT-2 treaty). The U.S. Government is known to have officially stated an intention not to take actions which would undermine the treaty provisions, although the treaty has not been ratified through the fault of the United States. In conjunction with the ABM Treaty and the interim agreement on certain measures in the field of limiting strategic offensive arms, the SALT-2 treaty regulates the Soviet-American relations in the field of strategic arms. In the treaty, the sides admitted the existence of a strategic balance and determined measures contributing to maintaining the balance subsequently as well.

But this is precisely what is not to the liking of certain Washington circles which have conceived an intention to change the correlation of forces in their favour and to try to achieve military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. Previously, too, the USA tried to find loopholes in the treaty and, if it did not find them, resorted to a direct violation of the treaty. At present the supporters of counting on a first nuclear strike which requires nuclear superiority are insisting on a direct renunciation of the observance of the SALT-2 treaty.

The result of the accelerated implementation by the United States of its military programs is that quite little time remains before a pointed violation of the treaty -- in September this year the Pentagon is planning to start the running trials of a Trident-system nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarine, the Alaska. After the submarine is commissioned, the USA will exceed the limit, set by the SALT-2 treaty, by 14 missiles. The Pentagon is making efforts, availing itself of the opportunity, to fully renounce the implementation of the treaty.

Thus, Richard Perle, U.S. assistant secretary of defence, for example, has called for discarding the treaty as unnecessary to America. This important document greatly "hinders" the realisation of militarist plans.

The newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES writes with reference to the CIA's secret report that, in the event of the realization of a program which runs counter to the SALT-2 and which envisages the deployment of MX ICBM's and Midgetman missiles, the aggregate number of the U.S. missile warheads would become 8,500 units. And how can one without those thousands of warheads dream of drawing closer and to realizing the long-standing and elusive dream of world domination?

In Washington, it seems, there are also the "moderates" who are in favour of observing the treaty but on modified terms. What kind of "modification" is meant? It turns out that it should allow the United States to avoid dismantling nuclear forces as is required by the treaty-set limits. It means, according to their suggestions, that the treaty would be seemingly observed while an unlimited build-up of strategic offensive forces would go on and the implementation of Washington's all dangerous plans would be continued. So, the "moderates", too, did not go far from those who demand that the implementation of the treaty be renounced altogether.

However, in the United States there are also politicians who are aware of the useful and important-to-the-USA role of the SALT-2 treaty. The NEW YORK TIMES newspaper writes that if all restrictions of the treaty cease to operate, the Soviet Union will be in a better position than the USA for the expansion of its forces. The Soviet Union does not need to build up its nuclear forces. On the contrary, it consistently and persistently comes out in favour of deep reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the two sides on a reciprocal basis. The truth is that a mutual accord is a street with one-way traffic. The implementation of the SALT-2 treaty, the well-considered elaboration of which took seven years, is of benefit to both sides and to the whole world as well.

And how are those who demand that the implementation of the SALT-2 treaty be abandoned going to combine this step with the so frequently declared adherence to nuclear arms cuts? It is perfectly clear that once the limits set by the SALT-2 treaty are broken, the arms race spiral will soar, aggravating the danger to mankind still more. If one compares such U.S. endeavours to build up offensive nuclear arms and at the same time to create space strike weapons, Washington's aim should be clear to the whole world: To try to get advantage on earth and in outer space and to dictate its will to the world.

It is not without reason that the U.S. newspaper PHILADEPHIA INQUIRER writes that if one renounces the SALT-2 treaty, one will jeopardize the delicate arms control talks which are now under way in Geneva. If one gives up the SALT-2 treaty, the newspaper writes, the USA's allies and the whole world will again ask the question: Which of the super-powers, actually, poses danger?

Zholkver Comments

LD011828 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1145 GMT 1 Jun 85

[From the "International Review" presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Excerpts] In discussing space problems, one cannot but recall that the Soviet-American agreement on cooperation in space research for peaceful purposes was signed 13 years ago, at the end of May 1972.

The responsibility for the present exacerbation of Soviet-American relations is borne by the U.S. ruling circles who are openly laying claim to some kind of rights to interfere anywhere and everywhere -- from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. They ignore and frequently simply flout the interests of other countries and the traditions of international contacts and existing treaties and agreements.

In recent days, there have been particularly widespread discussions in Washington of attitudes to the Soviet-American treaty on strategic arms limitation, the so-called SALT II treaty. Let me remind you that this treaty was signed in June 1979, but failed to be ratified by Washington. Nevertheless, the Washington administration has declared that it intends to adhere to the provisions of the treaty. What do we see in reality, however? Last week, a new submarine fitted with 24 Trident strategic missiles was launched at a U.S. shipyard, and another five such submarines are being built. This signifies that the U.S. side is manifestly exceeding the limits agreed on in the SALT II treaty.

'Heated Debate' Seen

LD041649 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 4 Jun 85

["Will USA Renounce Treaty Again?" --TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 4 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The Reagan administration is preparing to undermine the remaining obstacles put by the treaties to the unrestrained build-up of the U.S. arms. Sea trials of the new U.S. Alaska atomic submarine carrying 24 Trident missiles with MIRVed warheads will start in accordance with the Pentagon's plans next August. By having phased in the new submarine complex, the United States will surpass the ceiling of 1,200 MIRVed strategic missiles imposed by the Soviet-U.S. strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT-2).

After the Reagan administration came to power, it categorically refused to submit for the ratification to the Senate the SALT-2 treaty signed by the USSR and the USA in 1979. Under the pressure of public opinion President Reagan, however, had to announce later that the United States will be adhering to the provisions of the treaty. But just as in

case with other arms limitation agreements undermined by Washington in the past four years, the present U.S. Government was "adhering" to the SALT-2 treaty until the Pentagon's military programs entered into contradiction with it.

A heated debate on the decision on the SALT-2 treaty is now taking place in Washington. The question is if the United States should adhere to the treaty or if it should scrap it.

The U.S. press emphasizes that the announcement by the White House that the USA renounces the SALT-2 treaty will complicate Washington's problems in its relations with West European allies which aggravated as it is because of the United States determination to launch a large-scale anti-missile defense system and thus violate the 1972 ABM Limitation Treaty. Of considerable importance is also the fact that it is virtually impossible to conceal the deployment of the Alaska submarine.

There are differences on the question of the treaty within the Reagan administration. U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger who declares for the United States scrapping SALT-2 treaty came up against the resistance of generals and admirals in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They point to the advantages from the observance of the restrictions imposed by the agreement.

In these conditions President Reagan who declared on May 10 of this year that there is no need for the United States to continue observing the SALT-2 treaty now prefers to mark time. The newspaper WASHINGTON POST writes that the President will not refuse in future to observe the ceilings completely but will not declare for their complete observance either.

And THE WASHINGTON TIMES notes that almost all versions concerning the submarine that are being considered provide infringements on the SALT-2 treaty in one way or another.

Going by reports from Washington the White House still prefers to undermine the arms limitation treaties or to alter such agreements so that they should suit its military programs.

New Tridents, Violations Charges

LD062110 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 6 Jun 85

[From the "World Today" program presented by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] It is reported from Washington that tense conferences of the highest U.S. political and military leaders are being held there behind closed doors to discuss whether or not the United States ought to adhere to the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. SALT II treaty in the future. This document, signed by both countries but not ratified by the U.S. Senate, is nonetheless in force inasmuch as both sides have declared their intention of adhering to the treaty.

A situation has now arisen in which Washington must make a decision regarding its future action in this matter.

This is because SALT II sets a limit for multiple-warhead ICBM's possessed by the parties to the treaty. A new Trident submarine armed with 24 missiles has just been launched at New London, Connecticut. The commissioning of this vessel would bring the United States to the upper limit laid down by the treaty. Sea tests of another submarine of this class are scheduled for this autumn. If such a submarine comes into service without a certain number of existing missiles being simultaneously dismantled, the United States will exceed the limits agreed under SALT II; and it is just this question that is the subject of debates now raging in Washington.

Judging by U.S. press reports, those who advocate preserving the Soviet-U.S. accords -- in the U.S. Congress, as well as in some influential circles in the American capital -- have been issuing a warning that if the Reagan administration renounces observance of the SALT II provisions, then it will cancel out the only factor guaranteeing the stability of the correlation of the nuclear forces of the two powers. However, an influential group of Washington politicians, backed by the industrial corporations, are, as far as one can judge by the reports now appearing in the U.S. press, urging that all the restrictions connected with SALT II be scrapped. The Washington hawks are aware of the political unpopularity of a decision to violate the treaty. U.S. media commentators are saying that such a step would produce a negative reaction among broad circles of the U.S. public and complicate Washington's relations with its allies. That is why a large-scale propaganda diversion is now being mounted in which slanderous and unproven allegations are being made that SALT II is being violated by the Soviet Union. It is significant that the White House inhabitants have a hand in this campaign of falsification.

Washington's position on this vital question is likely to be clarified in the very near future. What is quite obvious, however, is that those officials in the United States who are today saying that SALT II should be scrapped are taking upon themselves a heavy responsibility before the people.

Programs Incompatible With Treaty

LD070310 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] The United States Senate on Wednesday approved the military authorization bill which provides most of the \$302 billion allotted to the Pentagon under the budget passed by the Senate. The rest of the money would be authorized by other bills. Our observer, Vladislav Kozyakov, discusses the Senate bill in his weekly comment:

This time, congressional debates on military spending were accompanied by disputes on a resolution urging the administration to adhere to SALT II treaty, signed in 1979 and never ratified by the United States. This reflects a growing concern over the policy towards nuclear and other weapons pursued by the White House. Today the policy threatens to undermine the basic strategic arms limitation treaties signed by the Soviet Union and the United States. The development of American strike space weapons threatens to destroy the 1972 treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile systems, which is of a fundamental significance for the nuclear arms control process as a whole.

And the continued buildup of American offensive nuclear weapons threatens to blow up the SALT II treaty and other nuclear arms limitation agreements. The situation now is such that the newly built nuclear armaments in the United States begin to exceed the limits fixed in Soviet-American treaties.

For example, this fall, when a new Trident submarine, the Alaska, begins sea trials, the United States would exceed the SALT II limit of 1,200 missiles carrying multiple warheads unless it dismantles a corresponding number of existing missiles. Under such circumstances, the Senate regarded it necessary to adopt a resolution urging the administration to refrain from undercutting the provisions of the existing strategic arms agreements. By doing so, the Senate has tried to convince the public that they are against any actions undermining the arms control process. But the record Pentagon spending bill simultaneously approved by the Senate provides for huge allocations for all major military programs. Billions of dollars will be spent on building new Trident submarines, MX, Pershing II and cruise missiles, B-1b bombers, and other strategic weapons, including strike space weapons. These programs are long-term. Their realization will very soon far exceed all the limits fixed in Soviet-American strategic arms limitation agreements.

In other words, the strategic rearmament program and the "star wars" program are aimed at achieving military superiority and first strike capability, but they are absolutely incompatible with the existing arms limitation agreements. To finance these programs, as the Senate authorization bill does, means to support a policy which is both unrealistic and dangerous. The Senate resolution urging the White House to adhere to the SALT II treaty is not a binding, [as heard] it has no force of law. It is aimed at quieting the public. As for the policy of the unprecedented arms race initiated by the Reagan administration, it remains unchanged. The policy has already resulted in the \$220 billion deficit of the federal budget, in the drastic reductions of social programs, and the growing tensions and threat of a nuclear war. To continue this policy would mean to further aggravate these problems.

Warnke, Others Urge Compliance

LD070642 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 7 Jun 85

[Text] Washington June 7 TASS --- TASS correspondent Aleksandr Lyutyy reports:

A group of prominent American arms control experts and law-makers have demanded unflinching compliance with the Soviet-American SALT II treaty.

Speaking at a press conference in Congress, Paul Warnke, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, voiced grave anxiety over statements by Reagan administration spokesmen about the intended renunciation of several major provisions of that treaty. SALT II, Warnke explained, met the interests of not only the Soviet Union, it was fully in the interests of the United States as well. And so its renunciation would be in fact the repudiation of attempts to limit arms.

In the Reagan administration, Warnke said, there was a group of influential officials who fiercely resisted arms control and were keen to prevent any steps towards it. If the White House decided against observing SALT II, the group would largely achieve its aims. Warnke vigorously denied allegations that the USSR was guilty of "violations" of the SALT II treaty.

Gerard Smith, former head of the U.S. delegation of the SALT I talks, also said that the Soviet Union was complying with the terms of the SALT II treaty it had signed. He added that the U.S. Administration's clearly negative attitude to the issue of observing arms control agreements as well as its "star wars" plans were in fact dooming the Geneva talks on space and nuclear arms to be barren.

The serious concern in U.S. Congress about Washington officials' statements about the U.S. possible renunciation of the SALT II treaty was reflected in a Senate resolution demanding that the administration refrain from undercutting the existing agreements in the field of strategic offensive arms. Speaking in Congress, Senator Edward Kennedy said strict compliance with SALT II and other arms control agreements met the interests of U.S. national security. Those seeking to sap SALT II, he said, cared more about blocking the arms limitation process than about ensuring the Americans' security.

Leaders of the Republican Party in Congress were invited to a special meeting with the President today where they received instructions concerning what should be done to win approval for the request for assistance to anti-Sandinist insurgents.

Several weeks ago the Congress declined the U.S. Administration's request for 14 million dollars in aid to the "contras". It follows from the remarks of Robert Michel, leader of the Republican minority in the House of Representatives, that the case in point now is the allocation of at least 29 million dollars for the bandits over a period of nine months. After the meeting with President Reagan Michel made it plain that a corresponding request would be submitted to Congress shortly. According to the deputy White House press secretary, the President insisted that the conduit for the aid to "contras" should be the CIA.

CSO: 5200/1192

SALT/START ISSUES

SOVIET COLONEL HITS PERLE CLAIMS OF USSR ARMS ACCORD BREACHES

PM211850 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 85 Second Edition p 3

[Colonel I. Voinov article under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "What Perle Is After"]

[Text] A cold draft of anti-Sovietism has again blown from the banks of the Potomac. This time its troubadour was the renowned Richard Perle, U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security policy. This is the same Perle of whom it is said in the United States that he has such "respect" for the truth he uses it very rarely. The other day he made a long speech to the Senate Armed Services Committee on carrying out the "most important arms control agreements."

Trotting out an extensive selection of special terms, Perle expatiated about the Soviet Union's "strange violations" of "almost all" treaties, accords, agreements, and adopted and unadopted commitments. The "Krasnoyarsk radar station," the "SA-5 class surface-to-air missile," "Russian scientific research work in the sphere of an ABM system that is rapidly being deployed," "new types of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles," the "Zapad '81" exercises, and "chemical and bacteriological weapons" figured in his yarns. In an attempt to make the impression he needed on the senators, Perle piled lie upon lie, swamping his audience with a mass of "information."

So just what had Perle thought up that was new, and what were his yarns pegged to?

Answering the first question is perfectly simple. He had thought of nothing new. He repeated virtually verbatim a hackneyed "gentleman's selection" of fabrications leveled against the Soviet Union that were worthily rebuffed in the Soviet memorandum passed to the State Department in January 1984 and in the TASS statement and the USSR Foreign Ministry reports published in the Soviet press 30 January 1984 and 28 February 1985, respectively.

Perle did not risk naming these documents, as if they were unknown to him, and he avoided the question of how he assesses the facts cited in them by mumbling inarticulately. The very way in which the "accusations" against the Soviet Union were presented was utterly fraudulent. Perle's speech was peppered with expressions allowing him "if need be" to recant his statements: "probably," "seemingly," "we must assume," "it cannot be ruled out," and, of course, "apparently."

It is also not hard to answer the second part of the question -- what Perle's remarks to the Senate committee are pegged to. Alongside the everyday trivial task of inciting an anti-Soviet propaganda campaign, more specific and, so to speak, topical goals are also being pursued.

One of these tasks is above all the "extraction" of more and more appropriations for militarist goals. Perle and his boss C. Weinberger are not happy with the record peacetime appropriations for Pentagon needs, which the White House has now provided for the 5th straight year. They are particularly concerned at the Senate's recent compromise decision to freeze the budget for 1 year. If one discards the padding from their speeches, a traditional picture remains: First they scare people with the "Soviet military threat," then they call on them to cough up more money.

Perle also pushed for the President's "Strategic Defense Initiative," the "star wars" program. Against a backdrop of discussion about the "Soviet military threat" and imaginary violations of treaty provisions, Perle put forward his own "arguments" in favor of the need to create space strike weapons. At the same time, he tried to camouflage the unconstructive U.S. line at the Geneva talks, a line aimed at further cranking up the arms race.

Perle's false statements have one other goal -- diverting attention away from the lamentable results of the U.S. President's recent visit to West Europe. The White House incumbent was unable to achieve success on any issue and even insulted both Americans and Europeans by his visit to the SS cemetery at Bitburg. The Western press caustically termed the President's trip a "negative triumph." That is why Perle is trying to "pretty up" this event with fabrications on the theme of violations of treaties and agreements.

Nevertheless, however hard the latest "fighter for the fulfillment of treaty commitments" tries, he will not succeed in deceiving anyone. The world public is well aware that the United States itself regularly violates the treaty commitments it has assumed. It also knows that the USSR fulfills them punctiliously and exactly. Those are the facts and no Perles can refute them.

CSO: 5200/1193

SALT/START ISSUES

MOSCOW ACCUSES U.S. OF ATTACKING SALT II, ABM TREATIES

LD101734 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 10 May 85

[Text] The U.S. Administration has fired yet another propaganda salvo, accusing the Soviet Union of violating international agreements. A comment from our observer, Viktor Olin, this is what he writes:

As they claim Soviet violations, the American leaders do not even bother to find any proof. Their aim is to get American and world public opinion to accept their giant military programs, that will amount to canceling America's commitments under the existing agreements. The attack is aimed at still vital agreements signed with the Soviet Union during the international relaxation period. One is the 1972 treaty on limiting antiballistic missile systems, a treaty signed for an indefinite period of time, and the other, the SALT II agreement. The Americans are preparing grounds for cancelling both. They have been acting against the letter and spirit of the two documents.

The ABM treaty bans the development, testing, and deployment of ABM systems based in space. But the United States is pressing ahead with work in the field. It is developing mobile ABM radars, testing the Minuteman missile to give it an ABM capability and developing multiple warheads for ABM missiles. It is also developing a radar umbrella for most of its territory and is taking other steps. At the same time, Washington has attacked the SALT-II agreements in a bid to ruin one of its basic provisions that acknowledges the existence of strategic parity between the Soviet Union and the United States. To this end, it is working hard to develop new types of intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched missiles, new strategic bombers, and other weapons. In a bid to create a potential for a surprise first attack, it is deploying Pershing II and Cruise nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The so-called Strategic Defense Initiative is closely linked with the overall strategic build-up. The two have one and the same purpose: to develop a capability for striking at the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons from behind a space shield and thus to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union.

This not only explains why the United States Administration is trying to undermine and liquidate the existing agreements, but also determines its attitude to any initiative meant to stop the arms race and start disarmament. Washington has answered negatively to the Soviet proposals that the two leading powers pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, that they each reduce their strategic offensive arsenals by a quarter or more and that they call a

moratorium on the development, testing and deployment of space attack systems, stop deploying medium-range weapons in Europe and take other steps. Washington's political program is full of military plans that leave no room for peace efforts. That is why Washington has no right to pose as a guardian of the existing agreements. This is further proved by its reluctance to use the Soviet-American talks in Geneva for signing new agreements.

CSO: 5200/1193

SALT/START ISSUES

USSR: JUNE NATO MEETING ON SDI, DROPPING SALT II

Shultz To Sound Out Allies

LD041258 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 4 Jun 85

[Text] The United States Secretary of State George Shultz is leaving for Portugal today to attend the conference of NATO's foreign ministers. According to news reports, his major goal is to gain full support for America's militaristic plans from the NATO allies. Washington is worried by the fact that West European countries differ in their approach to its program for building strike space weapons. France, Norway, Denmark, and Greece refuse to participate in its implementation. George Shultz also intends to sound the allies' attitude to America's possible open renunciation of the SALT II agreement. The French news agency reports the West Europeans fear that America's refusal to honor the SALT II agreement and its military plans regarding outer space will undermine the Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

To 'Twist Arms' on SDI

LD052208 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Jun 85

[Vladimir Tsvetov commentary]

[Text] A NATO Council session will be held in the Portuguese town of Estoril on 6 and 7 June. Here is a latest news commentary with political observer Vladimir Tsvetov at the microphone:

The main topic for the foreign ministers of the NATO countries is their attitude to America's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI]. Behind this title is a program to create a widespread antimissile system with space-based elements. I would remind you that when it first announced its SDI the United States gave its NATO allies 60 days to think about whether or not they would join in America's plans to transfer the arms race into space. From the way the ultimatum was expressed, it emerged that the United States expected its allies to join the new militarist program right away. However, the ultimatum did not have the effect that Washington expected.

France, Norway, Denmark, and Greece criticized the American SDI. The leaders of Britain and West Germany at first welcomed it, but then became more cautious in their positive pronouncements about it. Now, in the FRG the Free Democrats, who belong to the ruling coalition, are unambiguously condemning Washington's course of militarizing space. Certainly the United States has, without preliminaries, given up its ultimatum. This does not mean, however, that at the NATO Council session opening on 6 June U.S. Secretary of State Shultz will not be resorting to putting gross pressure on the NATO allies to make them join in the plans for the militarization of space.

The opposition of the Western European members of NATO to the U.S. SDI has been evoked by quite justified skepticism regarding its effectiveness, anxiety over the negative consequences for world stability of placing strike weaponry in space, and, finally, justified suspicion that involvement in the American program will lead to an outflow of Western European scientists to the United States, while the Western European countries will receive only limited access to the research. Secretary of State Shultz will endeavor to dispel NATO members' anxiety, but this will be difficult.

Even the United States' closest allies realize the responsibility they will be assuming by joining in the American plans. After all, implementation of these plans will undermine the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Antimissile Systems, on which progress at the talks on limiting nuclear armaments could be based. Indeed, doing away with the treaty will be the start of a totally uncontrolled arms race extending into decades. The NATO spring session, the closing session of the council of the aggressive bloc, included a series of meetings of the steering military bodies. Under Washington's pressure these meetings played a significant role in building up militarist preparations in Western Europe. By the same token, according to the U.S. press, in setting off for the NATO Council session U.S. Secretary of State Shultz does not intend to stand on ceremony with the allies. Indeed, he will proceed to twist their arms.

Allies Disagree Over SDI

LD060906 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Text] Estoril (Portugal) June 6 TASS--TASS correspondent Gennadiy Petrov reports:

A NATO Council session, attended by the foreign ministers of 16 NATO countries, opened here today.

It is focussed on Reagan's "star wars" programme, which the American Administration is trying to impose on its allies, problems of East-West relations in the light of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva as well as questions of further building up the military potential of this aggressive bloc.

The Portuguese press notes serious disagreements between Washington and its West European partners over the advisability of preparation for "star wars". It is believed here that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will use the session first of all as an opportunity for increasing pressure on those opposed to the plans for the militarisation of space. Moreover, many participants in the Estorial session, the newspaper DIARIO DE LISBOA says, are against the plans, discussed in Washington, to refuse to observe the SALT-2 treaty concluded between the USSR and the USA but not yet ratified by the American Congress. They think that such a step by the Reagan administration can only worsen East-West relations and make the Soviet-American dialogue more difficult.

In the opinion of political observers other important subjects of discussion at the session will be plans for modernising the armed forces of the countries forming NATO's "southern flank" (Portugal, Greece, Turkey) and the problem of Spain's complete integration with NATO's military structure, which is being persistently sought by Washington.

West European Reaction Negative

LD062027 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Political observer Vladimir Tsvetov commentary]

[Text] On the agenda of the NATO Council session now taking place in Portugal is the question of U.S. observance of the 1979 treaty on limiting strategic arms, known as SALT II. Here is a latest news commentary by political observer Vladimir Tsvetov:

This question has been raised by the U.S. Administration for two reasons. The first is a formal one. On 31 December this year, the treaty expires. The second is one of fact. Following the launch in September of the submarine Alaska with 24 multiple-warhead missiles on board, the United States raised the limits on strategic arms set for both sides by the treaty. I must remind listeners that in 1979, the Carter administration signed a treaty with the USSR restricting U.S. and Soviet strategic arms to a roughly equal number of delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads. The new administration of President Reagan refused to ratify this treaty. However, the USSR and the United States agreed not to undertake any action that might undermine the clauses of the treaty.

Washington operates according to the principle that when the rules of the game make it impossible to win, one must change the rules. The treaty bans the launch of the submarine Alaska with its 24 missiles, so Washington thinks the treaty must be renounced. And in order to justify itself in the eyes of the world community, it levels the standard charge against the Soviet Union of violating the treaty.

Reaction in West Europe to the U.S. action is negative.

The governments of several NATO member-countries have informed the U.S. authorities that refusal to observe the treaty limiting strategic arms will call forth a hostile attitude among the public. Even Lord Carrington, the NATO secretary general who is well-known for his openly militarist views, has spoken negatively of the U.S. intentions.

Nor has the administration complete support in Washington itself. Albert Gore, a Democratic senator, has dubbed as madness the call to renounce observance of the treaty. The treaty is essential, the senator declared, for the preservation of the foundations on which both sides could, in the final analysis, build a new agreement.

As for violations of the treaty, the signs of a guilty conscience, giving away the malefactor, are now being displayed by the Washington administration. The United States has acted in defiance of the treaty limiting strategic arms by deploying Pershing and cruise ballistic missiles in West Europe. Camouflage of strategic missiles, making inspection difficult, is not permitted by the treaty, but the United States is using camouflage. Other U.S. violations of the treaty have also been noted.

Expressing the viewpoint of those opposing renunciation of the treaty, the U.S. newspaper PHILADELPHIA ENQUIRER said: If you breach the limits set by the treaty, the spiral of the arms race will be given another, even steeper twist, increasing yet further the danger threatening mankind.

Spain Wants SALT II Observance

LD060014 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 5 Jun 85

[Text] Lisbon June 5 TASS -- Spain regards as desirable the observance of the SALT-2 treaty which was concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States, Fernando Moran, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, has told journalists after a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the eve of the opening of the NATO Council's session in the Portuguese town of Estoril. The minister said that during the meeting it was agreed to start in the near future the discussion, at diplomatic, military and technical levels, of matters aimed at preparing for talks on reducing U.S. military presence in Spain. Moran told Shultz the Spanish Government's point of view in accordance with which the reduction should be "effective, and not only numerical".

NATO Ministers Oppose SDI

LD062118 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Commentary by political observer Anatoly Gan]

[Text] NATO foreign ministers have begun a meeting in Lisbon. The conference will consider President Reagan's "star wars" plan and the American attitude towards the Soviet-American SALT II treaty. In recent weeks the two issues have given rise to much controversy in relations between the United States and its allies in Western Europe.

Back in March, the NATO ministers supported the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] of President Reagan under strong American pressure, but none of America's largest allies in Europe has so far given a definite official reply to the American ultimatum giving them 60 days to joint the "star wars" plan. The British Government has, however, promised to make up its mind and reply to the Americans next month.

The secretary of state, Mr Shultz, is reported to have had a great deal of trouble persuading his West European counterparts to formally approve "star wars." It is his job now to use any means to make the NATO allies adopt a political decision. The West European countries are unwilling to do that because they are aware that Mr Reagan's plan for space militarization can only lead to another round of the arms race, unprecedented in scale, both on earth and in space, and the scrapping of the entire arms control process and the failure of the Geneva talks.

Another issue on the agenda of the Lisbon meeting is the SALT II treaty signed by the Soviet Union and the United States in 1979 and never ratified by the U.S. Senate. The two countries have, however, abided by the treaty, which has been an obstacle in the way of an unbridled nuclear arms race. The treaty expires at the end of the year and Washington has now made it clear that the future of the treaty is in doubt as far as the American side is concerned. Washington has thereby once again demonstrated that it remains committed to a policy of an unbridled arms race on earth and in space.

The openly militaristic policy of the Reagan administration has aroused a great deal of anxiety and opposition among America's European allies. Even Lord Carrington, NATO's secretary general, acknowledged that the European allies are concerned at the consequences of the American move to abrogate the treaty. The British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, told the U.S. secretary of state that to scrap the SALT II treaty would endanger chances for success at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons.

Will Washington pay any attention to that concern and the clearly negative attitude of its allies in Europe towards its militaristic policy, or will it, as was the case in the past, rebuke the Europeans and silence them again? Mr Shultz obviously did not go to the NATO ministerial meeting only to report to the administration that the opinion of the European foreign ministers on the "star wars" plans and the future of the SALT II treaty is the same.

Reagan To Announce SALT II Decision

LD062054 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 6 Jun 85

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Viktor Levin]

[Text] Here is a dispatch from the Portuguese town of Estoril where a session of the council of foreign ministers of NATO member-countries is being held.

The REUTER agency reports that speaking at the opening of the session as its chairman, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher stressed that respect for existing treaties on the limitation of arms -- and here he specifically named the Soviet-U.S. treaties of limitation of antimissile defense and on limitation of nuclear weapons, SALT II -- is among the most important elements of stability.

Back on the eve of the opening of the session, the very same thing in essence was declared by British Foreign Secretary Howe and NATO Secretary General Carrington. Such speeches are hardly likely to appeal to Washington politicians. After all, no secret is being made in the U.S. capital of the administration's intention to cast aside the obligations assumed by the United States under the SALT II treaty. There is also talk that there is no need to take account of the ABM Treaty.

It has been announced that on Monday President Reagan will make a speech on how the United States intends to deal with the SALT II treaty in the future. But since in Washington itself the plans to renounce that treaty are coming up against sharp criticism on the part of many congressmen, it has been decided to enlist support among the NATO partners. However, they, as the reports from Estoril show, are not just refusing to dance to Reagan's tune, but have firmly taken the opposing position. NATO Secretary General Carrington said right out that a U.S. refusal to observe obligations in the SALT II treaty will have a negative effect on the progress of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on space and nuclear weapons. The Europeans, Carrington stressed, are expecting positive results from these talks. Of course, it is probably too soon to make far-reaching conclusions, but in my view the concern at the irresponsibility of the U.S. Administration, its lightweight and frivolous approach to key international problems, has been expressed sufficiently clearly by the U.S. NATO partners. Washington's reaction to this will be shown by Reagan's speech next Monday.

CSO: 5200/1194

SALT/START ISSUES

PRAVDA EDITORIAL ARTICLE ON FUTURE OF SALT II

PM101011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 85 First Edition p 4

[Editorial Article: "United States on a Dangerous Path"]

[Text] Washington is now vigorously discussing the question of what to do with the SALT II treaty which, as is common knowledge, was not ratified by the United States but the basic provisions of which are actually respected by the sides on a reciprocal basis. These discussions are unambiguously aimed at eliminating those restrictions imposed by the treaty that no longer please the United States because they can hamper the fulfillment of its military programs. The only point at issue is what method of scrapping the treaty would be less painful to the United States from the point of view of world public reaction: whether the commitments assumed by the USA under the treaty should be abrogated openly and in full or whether this should be done incrementally, step by step.

It is demonstrated again that real politics are not propaganda statements, but the totality of concrete actions and the direction in which they are pursued in practice. However hard certain figures are trying to hide the goals of their political course behind rhetoric, the time comes sooner or later when the totality of practical actions exposes what is actually taking place.

The U.S. Administration has made quite a few efforts to mislead world public about the true goals of its military policy, to put up a sort of enticing advertising board in the hope, apparently, that it would prevent people from seeing what Washington is busy with in reality. There was talk that they also were for the abolition of nuclear weapons and that they were prepared to respect agreements on the limitation of strategic armaments. Washington even had to agree to begin new talks, the goals of which, by accord between the sides, were the prevention of an arms race in space and its termination on earth. It should be said that there were those in the West who at first were duped by that maneuver.

Doubts about the true intentions of the U.S. Administration were revived when its officials began to disclose how Washington viewed transition "to a safer world." It turned out that they proposed to strengthen stability through a massive buildup of all types of existing armaments and through the militarization of space.

The picture is becoming perfectly clear now that it has become known that the U.S. leadership is pondering the problem of what to do: whether to state openly that the United States was getting a free hand for the uncontrollable nuclear arms race or to shed de facto, by bits and pieces, its commitments under the SALT II accord. This is a direct manifestation of the present administration's course of subverting and wrecking everything positive achieved in the field of security by the joint efforts of the USSR and the United States during the 1970's.

They began by blocking the ratification of the SALT II accord and then refused to retain in force its protocol, which envisioned additional and very important restrictions on strategic armaments. Subsequently, they outrightly circumvented the treaty by deploying medium-range nuclear missiles and long-range cruise missiles in Europe.

Discussions on the question of what to do with the SALT II accord that are taking place in Washington today are quite symptomatic. The administration is itself destroying the false front it has built to camouflage its politics.

What basic conclusions offer themselves in this connection? First, those who intend to shed the existing restrictions on strategic offensive armaments did not and could not have set out to reduce them: This very goal is organically alien to politicians who consider it the epitome of their activity to build as many missiles and bombers in as short a time as possible. The last false argument with which the concept of the so-called strategic defence was artificially propped up is collapsing. It is becoming even clearer that it is a plan of preparations for aggression and the development of a potential for a crippling strike in the hope of impunity, an attempt to tip strategic parity in Washington's favor and to achieve military superiority through the militarization of space. Washington is teaching a graphic lesson to those who have been nurturing illusions about the true purpose of the "star wars" program: The last thing, the last, that worries the White House is the process of arms limitation and reduction. Any denial of this fact is a gross deception.

Second, who will believe after this that the United States seriously wants the abolition of nuclear weapons? Washington's stand on the SALT II accord shows that the administration is refraining from publicly expounding such concepts as the possibility of victory in nuclear war, either "limited" or global, but has not at all renounced them. It is these concepts that are fundamental to U.S. military strategy and to the buildup of the U.S. Armed Forces. It also explains the refusal of the U.S. side to assume the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, as the Soviet Union did.

The U.S. side's assurances that it is prepared to seek a mutually acceptable accord at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons are worth but little. The U.S. delegation at the negotiating table acts as a lobbyist trying to convince Congress and the U.S. allies of the need to develop attack space weapons and build up every type of nuclear armament. One is entitled to ask what the United States is going to seek agreement upon in Geneva if even the existing ceilings on nuclear armaments are becoming too low for it. It is also becoming perfectly clear why the very idea of imposing a moratorium on space and nuclear armaments is being rejected out of hand. The moratorium is a practical step towards lessening the level of nuclear confrontation while Washington is unambiguously sending out a very different signal: no halts, let alone reversals, in the arms buildup.

Third, the true motivation behind the U.S. stubborn and flat refusal to reach agreement on the termination of nuclear weapons tests is also coming to light. This measure would raise an effective barrier to the development of new, even more destructive types of nuclear munitions and to the perpetuation of the existing nuclear armaments. In other words, a test ban would eventually lead to the natural demise of nuclear weapons.

To all appearances, it is precisely this that Washington would most of all dislike allowing to happen. The Pentagon needs testing to perfect nuclear weapons and build up their arsenals. The 150 kiloton threshhold established under the 1974 treaty is no longer sufficient and Washington avoids ratifying it. They do not say so openly, naturally, but instead exercise themselves in inventing all sorts of far-fetched and utterly false propoals, like the exchange of observers who would only record, and therefore legalize, nuclear explosions.

Fourth, the U.S. much publicized "concern" for tighter verification of agreements is only rhetoric. There are virtually no talks or international forums at which the United States would not hold back an advance towards accords under the pretext of the need for "stricter verification," and Geneva, Vienna and Stockholm supply practical examples of this fact.

Given Washington's present approach to the agreements it concluded, there will soon be nothing to verify. This is fresh proof that verification American style is merely a means to avoid concluding new disarmament agreements and to subvert the existing ones. It is a deceitful and cynical stand.

Fifth, discussing how to ultimately avoid compliance with the SALT II Treaty, Washington convincingly demonstrates why the administration keeps slanderously accusing others of not complying with international agreements. The absolute absurdity of these allegations has been demonstrated more than once with facts, but the threshold story is being run over and over again. This is needed to distract attention from Washington's numerous and gross violations of treaties and agreements signed by it and eventually to prepare the ground for their complete emaciation.

The present-day U.S. Administration is the only U.S. Government in quite a number of years that deliberately refuses to seek with the Soviet Union mutually acceptable accords in the field of security. Now it is about to go even farther in pursuit of its dangerous militarist line. It raises its hand on the very foundations of international stability and is getting ready to wreck the SALT II treaty, which has up until now served as a threshold containing the escalation of rivalry in strategic armaments.

The U.S. leadership is treading on a dangerous path. It should be clear to it that if the U.S. Administration steps over that threshold, it will incur grave responsibility for all the consequences of this step.

CSO: 5200/1219

SALT/START ISSUES

REPORT ON NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING

U.S. Asked To Honor SALT Treaties

AU061928 Paris AFP in English 1918 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Text] Estoril, Portugal, June 6 (AFP) -- Key European allies of the United States today called on Washington to continue to honor two strategic arms limitation treaties with Moscow, even if the accords had been breached by the Soviet side.

The appeal by West Germany, Britain, and France, came at a meeting of foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members which opened here today.

Analysts said the virtually unanimous stand by Washington's European allies, which are eager to protect their relations with the Kremlin, was likely to influence U.S. president Ronald Reagan, who must decide late this month whether to support the SALT II arms limitation treaty which expires late this year. Under the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, signed in 1979 but never ratified by the U.S. Senate, the two superpowers must limit their intercontinental nuclear warheads to 1,200 each.

The strongest call for respect of SALT II and the 1972 Antiballistic Missile (ABM) treaty came from West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. He described them as "important elements of stability, and relevant for the development of East-West relations and for the Geneva (Soviet-U.S. arms reduction) negotiations." "Neither the observance of the ABM treaty nor the respect of the SALT II agreement should be diminished in their value by the Soviet Union adopting an attitude contrary to their spirit and letter," Mr. Genscher told 15 fellow NATO chief diplomats here.

Britain and France expressed similar stands yesterday and NATO sources said the Netherlands, which has agreed to the deployment of 48 U.S. medium-range U.S. [as received] nuclear missiles on its soil, and Italy followed suit today in the plenary session.

The European posture was seen here as bolstering the stance of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who is opposed to a scrapping of SALT II. But the U.S. Defense Department however would like the agreement to fall because of alleged serious breaches by the Soviet side. The Pentagon said recently that Moscow had developed two new intercontinental weapons systems -- whereas SALT II only allows one -- and that these would be deployed in the coming months, giving the Kremlin a new edge in this type of armament. Washington itself will face a number of problems later this year, when it launches a new Trident submarine whose 24 ballistic warheads will bust the SALT II ceiling unless an older Poseidon-class submarine is scrapped.

Meanwhile analysts said that in view of French opposition to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, a space-based antimissile defense system, no reference would be made to the issue on the final communique due to be published tomorrow.

On relations with Moscow, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington said: "It is probably too early to tell whether we are now on the threshold of a good time, after one which has decidedly not been so good. But the arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev as Soviet leader is in itself an important development, and so is the resumption of the Geneva negotiations."

Genscher Comments

DW071037 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2030 GMT 6 Jun 85

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by correspondent Freisewinkel in Estoril, Portugal -- recorded]

[Text] [Freisewinkel] Mr Minister, in your opening speech, you most emphatically stressed that the SALT and ABM treaties must be adhered to and also observed in the future. Do all of you NATO colleagues support you on this?

[Genscher] Those are actually treaties between the United States and the Soviet Union. But they affect European security. They influence East-West relations and, naturally, the chances for the Geneva negotiations. Therefore, I very much welcome the fact that the U.S. secretary of state requested his colleagues in the alliance express their opinion on this in our session before the United States makes its decisions. This is a good sign of the U.S. Government's readiness for consultations. So far, all my colleagues who have taken the floor have supported my position in this matter.

[Freisewinkel] Mr Minister, the U.S. President's decision, which will be probably published on Monday, could be based on four options. Did Shultz not try to bring a certain influence to bear on you, to motivate you, or to push you in a certain direction?

[Genscher] No, he wanted to get an objective picture of his allies' views, and it is known that the U.S. secretary of state is quite aware of the significance of the agreement.

CSO: 5200/2647

SALT/START ISSUES

SFRY COMMENTATOR VIEWS REAGAN'S DECISION ON SALT II

LD111537 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jun 85

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] President Reagan has informed Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that the United States will abide by the SALT II agreement on the condition that the USSR, too, respects its stipulations. By making this decision Reagan avoided a further deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations and perhaps helped establish a better atmosphere for the Geneva negotiations on reducing and limiting nuclear missile arms and demilitarizing space.

It will be remembered that the first round of Geneva negotiations was not successful. The outcome of the negotiating during the second round will do a great deal to determine whether the leaders of the two superpowers will meet in the course of the year or whether, as some people fear, Reagan will be the first U.S. president since the end of the war who has not met the head of the Soviet state and party.

Before Reagan made his decision on SALT II, the U.S. Senate, by a large majority vote, asked the U.S. President not to scrap the SALT agreement with the USSR as demanded by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, who backed up his demand by claiming that the USSR has long been violating the provisions of SALT II agreement.

Weinberger's demand that Reagan scrap the SALT deal with the USSR has met with a sharp reaction in Moscow, which issued a clear warning to Washington that to scrap SALT II would entail unforeseen consequences for relations between the two countries and for peace in the world. Reagan's administration was also warned of the possibility of a complete setback at the Geneva negotiations on nuclear missiles and demilitarization of space.

Since the time the two superpowers signed the SALT II agreement in 1979 a sharp campaign has been conducted in the United States from time to time against its provisions. The most vociferous denials of the value of the SALT II agreement came from Reagan himself during his first presidential campaign. At that time Reagan claimed -- and there is very likelihood that this what he thinks now, -- that SALT II gives added weight to Soviet superiority in nuclear missile arms. This is why the U.S. Congress has not ratified SALT II to this very day. However, a few days ago, when there was a threat that Reagan would cancel the agreement, the U.S. Senate was the first body to resist this move.

Nonetheless, no matter how important Reagan's decision not to scrap the SALT II agreement may be, especially at the present time, it certainly will not remove the doubts existing on both sides concerning the implementation of its provisions. Both sides will go on accusing each other of not abiding by the spirit and the letter of SALT II. Reagan has made no commitment not to adjust certain provisions of the agreement, depending on the evaluation of the conduct of the other side. These evaluations could be very deceptive and to a great extent they will depend on the way Soviet-U.S. relations develop in the future.

Only progress during the Geneva negotiations on reducing and limiting nuclear missiles and demilitarizing space could arrest the present process of deterioration and stagnation in the relations between the two powers. If there is progress one may well be able to speak of a U.S.-Soviet summit because this would be an adequate reason for Mikhail Gorbachev to accept Reagan's invitation to meet, possibly as early as this year.

CSO: 5200/3057

SALT/START ISSUES

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: U.S. SALT II DECISION, REACTION VIEWED

LD111021 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 11 Jun 85

[Text] The ceiling set by the 1979 Soviet-U.S. nuclear Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, SALT II, is 1,200 missiles. Because the United States intends to launch a new Trident-type submarine at sea with 24 missiles on board, thereby exceeding the set limit, a sharp struggle has been unleashed in the United States. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, as well as the entire Pentagon and military-industrial complex, have been insisting that the United States totally revoke this treaty. Despite all President Reagan's confrontation and aggressiveness in his policy toward the USSR, he has declared on more than one occasion that he wants to adhere silently to the SALT II treaty. The fact is that discussing total withdrawal from the treaty would cause the United States more harm than good. Opposition to this intention in both the West European countries and at home in the United States is threatening to provoke a crisis within the U.S Administration. Taking these risks into account, including the ramifications that revoking the treaty would have on the Geneva talks, the President has not followed the Pentagon's demands. Vladimir Solecky, our resident correspondent, reports from New York.

[Solecky] The task of declaring the U.S. pledge to continue to adhere to the agreed limits set on strategic offensive weapons was given yesterday to Robert McFarlane, the President's national security adviser. Ronald Reagan refused to speak of the matter at different times on 10 June, as if he wanted to leave the back door open for himself so that he can still close it at the end of the year.

Although the announcement has been received positively in the U.S. Congress by all supporters of realistic policy in international relations, the hawks in the Senate and right-wing commentators such as George Will continue to question this decision on the SALT II agreement, as if U.S. adherence to it is solely in the interest of the USSR. They are also trying to spread various accusations that the USSR has been violating the agreement despite the fact that they have no evidence to support their claims. It is apparent that at the end of this year these circles will once again try to revoke any further adherence to the SALT II agreement because they regard it as an unnecessary obstacle in the path to gaining one-sided military superiority over the USSR.

CSO: 5200/3058

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

USSR: NATO MAY EVERE DECISION ON EUROMISSILES DEPLORED

PM290829 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 May 85 First Edition p 5

[A. Mozgovoy "Commentary": "NATO: Against the Current"]

[Text] This week a series of sessions of NATO's leading military organs has been held in the North Atlantic bloc's headquarters in Evere. Questions of building up militarist preparations are on the agenda.

First and foremost, the intention to continue to deploy U.S. medium-range Pershing-2 and Tomahawk cruise missiles in West Europe was confirmed. That is, in response to the peace initiative of the USSR, which made a goodwill gesture by announcing a moratorium until November this year on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and by suspending the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe, the Natoites have in effect embarked on the path of further aggravating the military situation on the continent. It is true that by no means all the participants in the "Atlantic Week" applauded the decision. The representatives of Greece, Denmark, and Spain voted against it.

Just when the North Atlanticists--under Pentagon pressure--were voting for the deployment of new U.S. missiles, it became known that the United States is planning to secretly stockpile another 150 Pershing-2 missiles in the FRC, in addition to the 108 missiles of this type. This is clear from a secret U.S. army document, which fell into the hands of the West German magazine STERN. In other words, the United States is not only continuing to deploy medium-range means in West Europe, but is also preparing to substantially exceed the previously projected number.

In accordance with directives approved in Evere, the NATO states' armed forces will considerably expand the arsenals of "conventional" weapons in the next few years. The improvement of chemical weapons will be further developed.

The question of implementing the "star wars" program was not officially raised at the conferences in the bloc's headquarters. But during behind-the-scenes bilateral meetings with colleagues, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger successfully worked on the junior partners, persuading them to

support the Reagan "Strategic Defense Initiative." As is known, most of the U.S. West European allies are not hurrying to get involved in the trans-Atlantic adventure. On the admission of Wolfgang Altenburg, general inspector of the West German Bundeswehr, "the Strategic Defense Initiative raises more questions than it answers." Such "vacillations" do not suit Washington. That is why the Pentagon boss made another attack on the allies, promising illusory carrots and brandishing the real stick of sanctions.

The "Atlantic Week" in Evere showed once again that the Natoites led by the United States have no wish to abandon the policy of fueling tension and war hysteria in Europe. This course contradicts the aspiration of the continent's peoples for detente, peace, and good-neighbornliness.

CSO: 5200/1223

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

MOSCOW SCOFFS AT TEMPORARY HALT IN PERSHING-II DEPLOYMENTS

LD261507 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 26 Apr 85

[Excerpts] An official spokesman in Bonn has announced that the deployment of American Pershing-II nuclear missiles in Federal Germany has been stopped temporarily. Viktor Olin makes these comments:

The decision of the United States to suspend the deployment of Pershing-II's does not amount to a moratorium on the stationing of the first strike weapons in Western Europe. American military circles have hastened to explain that this is a purely temporary step. The siting of missiles will continue after work is completed on the removal of defects that caused the ignition of a Pershing-II at Heilbronn base last January and the death of three American servicemen.

Incidents involving the Pershings stem from the very nature of the program of their production and deployment, which was very hasty and irresponsible. Suffice it to say that missiles appeared on the conveyor belt with no necessary testing. Test launchings have shown that many key systems are unreliable. Nevertheless, the United States started stationing Pershing-II's in combat positions. These missiles are a first strike weapon because they reach the target in 6-10 minutes. This circumstance sharply increases the risk of a conflict because, as experts warn, even a top-class surveillance system is unable to say whether an explosion on the launching pad is caused by an accident or launching. A West German paper has said that this results in increasing fear of war that can be caused by mistake. That's why all attempts of officials to calm down the public in Federal Germany and other countries where missiles are being stationed do not produce a desirable result.

Since the incident, antimissile actions near Heilbronn have been going on practically nonstop. Even the city council of Heilbronn, dominated by the ruling Christian Democrats, has spoken for the liquidation of the American nuclear missile base. The announcement of the suspension of the missile deployment has not stopped demonstrations. Protestors are warning that in the future the hasty installation of missiles with the purpose of catching up lost time can lead to new incidents much more dangerous in their consequences.

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

EUROPEAN OPPONENTS OF CRUISE MISSILE DEPLOYMENT MEET

PM101517 Amsterdam DE VOLSKRANT in Dutch 3 Jun 85 p 3

[Wio Joustra report: "Christian Democratic Appeal Members Want To Discuss Arms With Belgians, Germans"]

[Excerpt] The Hague -- In the latter half of the year, before 1 November, a congress of Netherlands, FRG, and Belgian Christian Democrats opposed to the deployment of cruise missiles in the Netherlands and the further escalation of the arms race will be held in the Netherlands. This is the result of a closed meeting held in Arnhem Saturday [1 June] and attended by around 100 members of the Christian Democratic Appeal [CDA], the CDU, and the CVP.

The meeting was arranged by the "committee of CDA members against the deployment of cruise missiles" and was chaired by nuclear pacifist and Harlemmermeer Mayor Hans de Boer. Members of the three parties were addressed by European Parliament member Beumer and CDA parliamentary group members Laning-Boersma, another nuclear pacifist, and Van der Toorn.

This week a small committee will set up an organizational structure to arrange one or more large antinuclear meetings. According to De Boer, at the Arnhem meeting a central question was how the Christian Democrats from the three countries together can bring about more in the field of detente.

CSO: 5200/2655

INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES

FRG MAGAZINE REPORTS PERSHING II MANUAL FOUND IN TRASH CAN

LD221402 Hamburg DPA in German 1315 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Hamburg/Stuttgart, 22 May (DPA) -- According to a report in the Hamburg STERN magazine, the U.S. Army intends to store in a secret depot more Pershing Missiles than are scheduled to be deployed in the Federal Republic according to the NATO two-track decision. The depot was said to be in Weilerbach in the Rhineland-Palatinate according to training instructions on Pershing II missiles found in a trash container in Leinzell near Mutlangen, the magazine reports in its latest edition today. The depot in Weilerbach explains why the U.S. Army ordered 258 missiles and not 108 from the producing firm of Martin Marietta.

According to reports, the firms' handbook "contains everything that is important for the servicing teams. Assembly, launch, and use of the Pershing II are described in 230 pages." It also emerged from the handbook that one-fourth of the Pershing II's deployed in the Federal Republic are continually ready for battle with a primed nuclear warhead and cleared for launch at a target.

The red-colored handbook entitled, "Pershing II -- New Equipment Training," which bears the name of its former owner, an American sergeant, on the inside front page -- was, according to STERN, found by a citizen from Schechingen (Ostalb District), together with live automatic rifle cartridges, in a garbage container at the school in the Ostalb neighborhood of Leinzell and handed over to the mayor. Juergen Schaich, mayor of Schechingen, tried in vain to pass the missile handbook on to the U.S. military authorities. The authorities considered such a find to be impossible and simply laughed at Schaich.

A spokesman at the Baden-Wuerttemberg Interior Ministry said he knows nothing about such a find. SPD state parliament group Chairman Ulrich Lang said the federal chancellor's "dilettantism," combined with "deliberate disinformation from the Bonn Defense Ministry, intensify the dangers of the mass nuclear deployment in our land, which is in full swing."

CSO: 5200/2655

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE

SOVIET REPORTS ON OPENING OF SESSION IN MAY

Bloc Intentions Praised

LD140928 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 14 May 85

[Text] The Sixth Session of the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe opens in Stockholm today. Our correspondent Valentin Gubernatorov reports:

The flags of the 35 countries taking part in the Stockholm conference are once again flying over the building where it takes place today. The Soviet delegation and the delegations of the other socialist countries have come to the latest stage of the Stockholm forum with the firm intention of continuing their efforts to achieve specific understandings in the sphere of strengthening measures of trust, security and disarmament in Europe. It is toward this that the whole broad range of the Soviet proposals is aimed. Unfortunately, the NATO countries still do not wish to display good will. Their so-called package of new proposals is nothing other than the same old attempt to gain unilateral military advantages for themselves.

Socialist Countries Submit Proposals

LD201525 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Stockholm May 20 TASS -- At today's meeting of the Stockholm conference the socialist countries set forth a new important initiative promoting detente in the military field in Europe.

The delegation of Czechoslovakia submitted a working document that contains detailed proposals concerning prior notifications about major exercises of ground forces in Europe, as well as in the adjacent sea (ocean) region and air space starting from the level of 20,000 men and more.

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic tabled the document on prior notification about major air force exercises. In conformity with that document subject to notification would be air force, naval and air defense aviation exercises during which over 200 combat planes would be in the air simultaneously in the announced region of the exercises on the territory of any participating state in Europe, as well as in the adjacent sea (ocean) region and air space.

The delegation of the Soviet Union submitted a working document proposing notification about naval exercises held in the sea (ocean) region adjacent to Europe in case more than 30 combat ships and 100 military planes are involved in them.

The documents contain the provision that such notifications are to be served 30 days in advance. They are to contain information about the general purpose of the exercise, the states participating in it, the numerical strength of forces, the number of planes and combat ships involved, as well as the area and proposed time when the exercises will be held.

Addressing the meeting, the head of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy, emphasised that the socialist countries were consistently following a line toward building up confidence and security in Europe both in the military and political spheres. Major political initiatives of socialist countries are under consideration at the Stockholm conference. A call for their early realization and for attaining mutually acceptable accords at the Stockholm conference was made in the address of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., of May 9, 1985.

Trying to direct the conference into the channel of business-like negotiations, the Soviet representative went on to say, delegations of a number of socialist countries submitted working documents today which develop and make more detailed their proposals concerning notifications about major military exercises. It is well known that modern ground, air and naval forces possess big strike power and can accomplish a wide range of combat missions both independently and in close cooperation with each other.

Major exercises of air and naval forces involving hundreds of combat planes and ships, such as the exercises held by NATO countries now, can constitute a threat to security, to create situations in which the danger of a miscalculation or accidental outbreak of war grows. Notification about this kind of exercise served beforehand would promote confidence-building. This is especially important under the existing conditions, when literally before the eyes of the whole world, seemingly ordinary departures of fleets of certain powers into the ocean transformed themselves into aggressive actions against sovereign states.

Oleg Grinevskiy called upon the conference to embark on practical negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security of the sides.

NATO Members' Response Hit

LD211535 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 21 May 85

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] In Stockholm the socialist countries have advanced new proposals at the session of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and on Disarmament in Europe [CDE]. Here is what a Radio Moscow commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

These proposals provide for establishing an exact time limit when advance notice should be given about big military exercises on the territory of Europe, nearby sea and ocean regions, and air space. The initiatives are clearly important and timely. During big exercises conducted by all types of armed forces, which have a tremendous strike potential, there could be situations when the danger increases of an error or an accidental

outbreak of war. The socialist states suggest that the countries notify in advance, that is 30 days before the start of the exercises, about the general purpose of the maneuvers about the countries, the numerical strength of the troops, and the number of aircraft and warships taking part in them, and also about where and when they will take place and for how long they will last.

All that would increase trust among the countries and sharply reduce the probability of dangerous consequences. The new proposals are another example of the broad stance taken by the socialist countries. They combine principled, large-scale initiatives with exact and concrete measures aimed at building up confidence. Incidentally, at the previous session of the Stockholm conference, the Soviet Union, on behalf of all the countries of the Warsaw Treaty organization, submitted a document outlining the main provisions of a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and maintaining relations of peace.

Under the treaty the signatories would be committed not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional arms against each other. The draft treaty also provides for not using force against third countries and taking measures to prevent an arms race in space and reducing both nuclear and conventional arms. All the provisions are based on strict observance of the military balance, equality of the rights of all the signatories, and equal respect of the interests of security.

The NATO countries, headed by the United States, actually avoided discussing the draft treaty, saying that it allegedly was of a very general nature and contained no concrete and constructive proposals. They insisted on discussing a number of measures on information about military activity in Europe, based on the conceptions of transparency and X-raying. It is indicative that, according to those measures, no information was to be given about the troop contingents which are stationed in the United States and on American bases but are meant for Europe. Evidently the purpose of those measures is to obtain detailed information about the defense potential of the Warsaw Treaty and thus gain one-sided advantages.

Only the principle of equality and like security of the sides could be practical foundation for attaining both large-scale agreements and more specific ones. And the new proposals put forth by the socialist countries at the conference in Stockholm are also based on that principle.

IZVESTIYA Analyzes Bloc Proposals

PM231303 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 85 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by A. Sychev, correspondent, under the rubric: "Topic of the Day": "In the Interests of Genuine Security: The Socialist Countries' New Proposals to the Stockholm Conference"]

[Text] The Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament is continuing its work. Its participants are faced with the important and urgent task of strengthening security and detente in Europe.

Guided by this task, the socialist countries have submitted a series of important proposals to the conference combining political and military confidence- and security-building measures which, if implemented, would reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe and effectively strengthen security and confidence among the peoples.

The socialist countries are also beginning the present session with constructive new initiatives leading to detente in the military sphere. The Czechoslovak delegation, for example, has submitted for the conference's examination a working document on "The Prior Notification of Major Ground Forces Exercises." This proposes, in particular, that notification be given of exercises held on the territory of Europe and in the surrounding air space and waters involving the participation of 20,000 or more servicemen.

The GDR has submitted proposals on air force exercises whereby notification would have to be given of air force exercises involving more than 200 warplanes in the air simultaneously in the exercise region.

For its part, the Soviet delegation, has handed over a document proposing that notification be given of naval exercises held in the sea (ocean) adjoining Europe if more than 30 warships and 100 aircraft are involved.

The documents contain the provision that such notifications be made 30 days in advance. They shall contain information about the overall aim of the exercise, the states taking part, and the number of troops, aircraft and warships, as well as the region and proposed timetable of the exercises.

However, the socialist countries' constructive proposals are still awaiting an appropriate response from the delegations of NATO countries. The West continues to attempt to distort the way things are at the conference and to persuade the public that the socialist countries' initiatives are merely "declarative in nature."

The socialist countries' new moves at the Stockholm conference refute these assertions. Meanwhile, as the course of the conference indicates, the Western countries are merely playing at talks, doing everything possible to avoid substantial political commitments, and in the military sphere too are not bothering to look for major confidence measures. The NATO "packet of measures" not only breaches the fundamental principle of equality and identical respect for the security of all states, but openly attempts to destroy the bases of the Helsinki Final Act. Such actions in no way further the constructive and fruitful conduct of conference work.

"The socialist countries have come to Stockholm in a businesslike frame of mind. We are ready for serious and practical talks which could lead to very swift formulation of confidence measures in both the political and military spheres," special envoy O.A. Grinevskiy said in his speech. "This stance shows itself not in general statements but in concrete deeds aimed at making progress in both directions."

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have demonstrated again their commitment and resolve to conduct the talks at the Stockholm conference in a businesslike way and to secure important agreements which could make a substantial contribution to strengthen peace in Europe. Whether the conference will fulfill its assigned task depends on the United States and its allies.

Soviet Envoy on U.S. Chemical Arms

LD241124 Moscow TASS in English 2203 GMT 24 May 85

[Text] Stockholm May 24 TASS--Today at a session of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, Ambassador Vladimir Yerofeyev, member of the Soviet delegation, drew the attention of the audience to the proposals of the socialist countries on delivering the European continent from chemical weapons and on removing the threat of a chemical war.

These proposals acquire special significance because of the attempts of the United States to start another round of the chemical arms race, which are made clear by the recent decision of the U.S. Senate on allocating additional sums of money on the manufacturing of new chemical ammunition.

The Soviet representative stressed that these actions of the United States posed a serious threat primarily to Europe, since it is the European continent where U.S. chemical weapons are deployed in the first place, and their possible use is planned also with regard to Europe. The Stockholm conference is facing a serious task of taking effective measures aimed at delivering Europe from these barbarous mass destruction weapons.

CSO: 5200/1178

CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: COMMENT ON BLOC INITIATIVE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 May 85 p 7

[Text] At the Monday meeting of the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Socialist countries presented a new initiative for relaxation [of tensions] on the European continent. The CSSR, East Germany and the Soviet Union submitted new working documents for confidence building to the members of the conference.

The Czechoslovak delegation presented a proposal for preliminary reporting on large ground troop maneuvers in Europe and adjacent sea and air space with the participation of more than 20,000 personnel. A similar document on airforce exercises has been submitted by the GDR. This document calls for reporting of military air and air defense forces in which more than 200 military aircraft participate.

The delegation of the Soviet Union tabled a working proposal to submit reports on navy maneuvers in which more than 30 combat vessels and 100 military aircraft would participate. All these documents establish a requirement to report such exercises 30 days in advance. The leader of the Soviet delegation, an ambassador with a personal mission, Oleg Grinevskyi emphasized that the socialist countries are making every effort to improve confidence and security in Europe in both military and political arenas.

This initiative of the socialist countries is a concrete reply to the Western demands that the socialist countries should accede to reporting military exercises in advance. Actually, the socialist countries, with their concrete proposals, are also setting criteria for mutual controls. The matter of control in these military exercises is, according to the socialist countries, a relatively simple matter and there is no reason to doubt it.

The socialist countries' delegations submitted these documents in an effort to give the conference the character of objective discussions. It is fully in accord with the goals of the Stockholm Conference and it is now up to the Western countries' delegations whether the conference will move forward.

CSO: 5200/3050

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

SOVIET REPORTS ON MAY MBFR SESSION

Soviet Delegation Arrives 22 May

LD220913 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0828 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Vienna, 22 May (TASS)--A Soviet delegation has arrived in the Austrian capital today to take part in another round of talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe. The USSR delegation at the talks is headed by Ambassador Valerian Mikhaylov.

U.S. 'Obstructionist' Path

LD230952 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] A dispatch from Washington shows that the United States intends to continue to adhere to its previous, unconstructive course at the Vienna talks. A written statement by a White House spokesman, published following President Reagan's meeting with Blackwill, new head of the American delegation to the Vienna talks, testifies to this. Counseling his new envoy prior to his departure, the President gave him unequivocal instructions to continue to block any and all initiatives emanating from the Warsaw Pact organization member-states. One can only regret the fact that the U.S. Administration dooms the next round of the talks in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, due to start today, to what will, in essence, be an outcome without any results.

The same statement also mentions the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons in progress in Geneva. Analysis of this document leaves one with no doubt that at this important forum too the United States will stubbornly continue to refuse to search for compromise solutions and take up an obstructionist position.

GDR, UK Envoys Speak

LD231358 Moscow TASS in English 1323 GMT 23 May 85

[Text] Vienna May 23 TASS--TASS correspondent Anatoliy Tyupayev reports:

The 36th round of negotiations on mutual reduction of troops and armaments in central Europe has begun in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna today. The head of the GDR delegation Ambassador Andre Wieland made a speech at the plenary meeting. He noted the historical significance of the victory over Nazi fascism and the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to its rout, and stressed that the peace won at a high price is now in a greater jeopardy than any time before.

The cause of serious concern is the situation in Europe. It is not the socialist countries which bear responsibility for that. The socialist countries are convinced that there is now no question in international politics which could not be resolved peacefully, through negotiations.

This readiness for a dialogue on the basis of the strict observance of the principles of equality and undiminished security was reaffirmed in April this year at the Warsaw meeting of top party leaders and statesmen of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

The GDR representative stressed the pressing need of concrete steps to reduce the level of military confrontation in central Europe. On February 14 this year the socialist countries submitted the document "The Basic Provisions of the Agreement on the Initial Reduction by the Soviet Union and the United States of the Ground Troops and Armaments in Central Europe and the Subsequent Non-Rise in the Levels of Troops and Armaments of the Sides in That Region," this being evidence of the socialist countries' striving to direct the Vienna negotiations to a fruitful channel. That proposal makes it possible to overcome the impasse in Vienna and to start without further delay the process of real reduction of troops and armaments in the centre of the European Continent.

On behalf of the socialist countries the head of the GDR delegation called upon the Western participants to treat in a constructive way this proposal and display the necessary political will for attaining a practical result at the negotiations.

M. Alexander, the head of the British delegation, spoke at the meeting on behalf of the NATO countries. In his speech there were no new elements that would testify to a change in the Western obstructionist stand. His speech showed that the NATO countries were not ready to determine their attitude to the substance of the socialist countries' proposal and to give to it a positive reply that would make possible, at long last, progress in Vienna.

Hungary Delegate Speaks

LD300956 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT 30 May 85

[Text] Vienna May 30 TASS -- The head of the Hungarian delegation, Janos Petran, has made a speech at a regular full-delegation session at the talks on mutual reduction of the armed forces and armaments in central Europe. He showed the validity and fundamental importance of the formula which is being upheld by the delegations of the Warsaw-Treaty countries. The formula envisages a cutback in troops together with their organic armament and combat equipment, a cutback without which it is impossible to achieve an effective downswing in the level of military confrontation in the centre of Europe.

Having criticized in a well-reasoned way the NATO countries' negative stand on this matter, the Hungarian representative emphasized that the West's evasion of cutbacks in armaments runs counter to the very mandate of the Vienna talks and remains one of the serious obstacles on the way to reaching agreement.

CSO: 5200/1177

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: REPORT ON OPENING OF 36TH ROUND

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 85 p 7

[Text] Vienna (CTK reporter)--The 36th round of the Vienna negotiations for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions started on Thursday, 22 May 1985, in the Hofburg Palace.

The GDR chief delegate, Andre Wieland, spoke at the general meeting. He underscored the historical significance of victory over the Hitlerite Fascism and the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union to its defeat and emphasized that the peace, won at a tremendous sacrifice is, today, threatened more than ever. The situation in Europe is, especially, a reason for serious dismay. And it is not the socialist countries which are responsible [for the serious situation in Europe]; they are convinced that there is not a problem in international politics which could not be solved in peace at the negotiating table.

Ambassador Wieland said that the approach of the socialist countries to the negotiations in the 36th round is determined by the statements of the Soviet party and state agencies on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. The statements call on the participants of the Vienna negotiations to take immediately all necessary measures to achieve mutually acceptable terms.

The socialist countries are primarily interested to know, continued Andre Wieland, whether the West will finally be willing to recognize that the key to a fundamental progress lies in the ending of unproductive debates and in practical steps for the mutual and balanced force reductions.

CSO: 5200/3050

CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

U.S. SAID TO WANT POISON GAS IN NATO ARSENAL

DW240845 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 24 May 85 p 1

[Ulrich Machensen report: "U.S. Also Wants Poison Gas For NATO"]

[Excerpt] Brussels, 23 May -- The United States wants to continue its efforts to make the NATO partners include chemical weapons, that is poison gas, in the alliance's arsenal of deterrence. That can be gathered from statements by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, made at a press conference at the conclusion of the NATO spring conference in Brussels. Surprisingly, the defense ministers' meeting ended early Thursday morning because of great agreement and because there were no problems to discuss.

Weinberger said that the U.S. realized that the Soviets had increased the "capacity and quality" of their chemical weapons. This forces the United States to also increase its "defensive and deterrent" chemical weapons, and to convince the allies that chemical weapons must play a more important part in NATO planning, he added.

CSO: 5200/2656

- END -